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New Assault on Castro?

The Editors

On Resuming Nuclear Tests

David R. Inglis

Evelyn Waugh's Trilogy

Patrick O'Donovan

Tender is the Night

Stanley Kauffmann

February 12, 1966

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Tail Wags Dog

★ If George Romney didn't exist he would have to be invented. Republicans need a Romney, they are in bad trouble. They could have won with Rockefeller in 1960 but the Organization wouldn't let them, and now Rocky, Nixon and Goldwater are tired and shopworn. The party needs a new leader with a glamorous Madison Avenue face. This is the week for a coy announcement from Romney that he will run for governor of Michigan if his party insists on it. Next stop - White House.

The GOP is in trouble because its right-wing tail wags the dog. In the past hectic fortnight Kennedy has snowpiled Congress with messages, reports and press conferences. Most positions he has taken are moderate - overmoderate, we think. But he has grabbed a great center sector which tempts the GOP to attack from the far right. If they reject the Urban Affairs Department they are aligned against cities and Negroes; if they reject the \$100 million loan to the UN they are isolationist. And so on.

Really, the worst thing that has happened to the GOP was Barry Goldwater. He is spirited, he is attractive, but he is essentially a romantic. His theory that you can repeal the 20th Century is basically fallacious; you can't. But he has charmed millions of conservatives. Why woo the cities, he asks in his dashing way; we can win without them! He and the far right cause increasing concern to unhappy GOP moderates. Senator Cooper (R, Ky.), warns against Goldwaterism; Senator Kuchel (R, Cal.), up for reelection, is No. 1 target of Birchites: "I don't believe in your views, your

methods, and I don't want your votes!" Kuchel cries.

To meet the Kennedy thrust the GOP have Goldwater and the "Ev-Charlie" show. What a troupe! What Republicans need is a sensible National Advisory Council, operating outside Congress but cooperating with it, and bringing in GOP governors and mayors, and the international eastern bankers who are their natural allies. They also need a new face and in George Romney may get one.

Someday we should like to write the history of the great 1949 Wall Street bull market. It is one of the great stories of our times. It started its tremendous surge in mid-'49 and it has climbed (with three temporary setbacks) ever since. It started with the Dow-Jones industrial average below 200, and now it is above 700 - in 12 years! It brought millionaires, and turned millionaires into multi-millionaires; reestablished the top one percent of America's wealthiest in control of 28 percent of the nation's gross wealth, and now it has inflated stock market prices so far above their average return that the latter, in relation to return of bonds, is the lowest since the 1929 crash. It has also produced an extraordinary national euphoria, the notion that anybody can play the market and grow rich.

Making allowance for stock splits, \$10 invested in GM stock in 1949 is worth \$53 today; \$7 in Texaco, \$51 today; \$50 in IBM, \$580 today. This amazing, surging rise has run into trouble - only "temporary," the business-page advisers hastily say. Very possibly. Prices will doubtless go higher. But little red danger signals are twinkling all over the boards of the stock brokers.

Victory

★ Well, it was a great victory we won at Punta del Este. Castroism will probably dry up and blow away anytime now. We got 14 small countries representing 55 millions (and leaving out six countries with 140 millions) to snub Castro, we clinched the victory by ordering an embargo on the remaining \$76 million a year of our imports from Cuba, and we rejoiced at the happy sequel: the military forces of the Ar-

gentine ganging up against the constitutional president Arturo Frondizi because he hadn't been anti-Communist enough.

The trouble is, of course, that Castro isn't the issue in Latin America, it is Castroism. We are not fighting a man but an idea. The more the Colossus of the North slaps at the man the more the peons seize the idea. One way or another, we are persuaded, social revolution is coming. The US is trying to guide it by its Alliance for Progress. Well and good. But we suspect radical controls are needed which the US will never countenance and which the Army, Church and Landowners of Latin America will resist to the death. The peons are determined to obtain "social and economic justice, and if they can't get it under their present governments they will turn to Castroism," warned Teodoro Moscoso, in charge of the Alliance program in Washington. "Unfortunately," he added last week, "the leader class has not yet recognized this." Meanwhile, meet America's new allies: the military junta of the Argentine.

Notes

★ We noted an unease - an anxiety - in the Senate during confirmation of John McCone as director of super-secret CIA that didn't show in the vote, 71-12; the job has been called "second to that of the Presidency." Quietly announcing he would vote against confirmation, Fulbright (D, Ark.), said hearings had revealed virtually nothing about McCone's essential opinions. . . . Without being heard publicly, Foreign Service career officer William Wieland underwent secret examination by a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee last week from which chairman Olin Johnston (D, S.C.) emerged to charge that Wieland had been "hoodwinked" by Castro, and that "we had him pushed against the wall." . . . On its way to the Supreme Court, the US Circuit Court of Appeals here upheld the UAW-NLRB charge that the Kohler Co. (Wis.) used unfair labor tactics in the 9-year-old dispute. . . . In Texas last week Gen. Edwin Walker, ret., filed as Democratic candidate for governor; his platform simply, "Anti-Communism."

New Assault on Castro?

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"The most important man at this conference is not here," said Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Richard Goodwin at Punta del Este. "His name is Janio Quadros." To the Latin American journalists who heard the remark (reported in *Diario de Noticias* of Rio de Janeiro) at a Venezuelan delegation cocktail party, Mr. Goodwin's meaning was not mysterious. He was referring to the paralysis of politics and thus of foreign policy which has overtaken Latin America's most influential country while its self-exiled ex-President ponders when and how to make his widely expected triumphal return to Brazil. With no way of knowing what Quadros might do, the politicians in Brasilia are anxious above all not to guess wrong; and the consequent refusal of the Goulart regime at Punta del Este to support Cuba's expulsion from hemisphere councils had the effect of freezing policy in other Latin American capitals where politicians are also waiting for Janio.

It was gross underestimation of Brazil's power of attraction throughout the continent that led the US into the diplomatic blunder of an open break with all of the Latin American great powers on the concluding January 30 roll call. Six countries with two-thirds of the continent's land area and 140 million people (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico) abstained while 14 countries with 55 million people were making the decision to expel Cuba from the Organization of American States. The story of Punta del Este as it is told by highly authoritative sources indicates clearly that the US in forcing this showdown was banking on 20 solid votes for expulsion or, at worst, a 19-vote decision with Brazil isolated in opposition.

Although it blew up, US strategy must have seemed air-tight in State Department position papers. Argentina was to be the key. In the Kennedy-Frondizi talks on December 24 in Palm Beach, the US had won a pledge that Argentina would support expulsion, and a confident assurance that Brazil and the rest of the Big Six could be induced to go along. Why were the two presidents so sure of themselves? They were aware the Cuba issue was political dynamite in Brazil as in most of Latin America. And for precisely this reason the strategy was to work with, rather than against the politicians: the US would go into the conference ostensibly seeking sanctions by all member countries against Castro and, at the last minute, let Latin delegates "win" the seemingly softer solution of an OAS expulsion which did not preclude bilateral diplomatic and trade relations with Havana.

The strategy wore a new and sophisticated look that astonished and

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delighted those strategically-placed Latin Americans who were privy to the plan. Latin delegates could inveigh against the US proposals and go back to their people with nationalist colors flying, while the US would get what it really had in mind all along.

Though it must be small comfort to the Administration, the failure of the strategy to materialize appears to have surprised even Frondizi, who is said to have believed, to the end, that he could swing Brazil into line, and to have ignored the possibility that he might have to break with Brazil in order to fulfill his commitment to the US. Faced with such a choice, Frondizi, who had made a far-reaching agreement for an Argentine-Brazil axis in hemisphere affairs only last April in his Uruguayana pact with Quadros, risked his own immediate position in Argentina by aligning himself with Brazil.

But the fact that the strategy failed may prove less significant in time than that the US did have as its principal aim at Punta del Este the expulsion of Cuba from the OAS. Sanctions, it is explained, figure only marginally in Administration calculations because only six percent of the Castro regime's trade is in this hemisphere. The suspension of imports from Cuba by the Kennedy Administration on February 3 is thus primarily a "hard" gesture for the benefit of US public opinion and is not seriously expected to set in motion an anti-Castro revolt. Indeed, the Administration is said to have realized beforehand that US sanctions would give Castro a new rallying cry. Expulsion of Cuba from the OAS, on the other hand, takes its place logically in any long-term US plans for a new military assault on Castro. Secretary Rusk's reference in his TV report to Cuba as an "active threat to the security of this hemisphere" lends itself to interpretation as a

justification for new military action. Until Punta del Este, the US would have been unable to support, let us say, a Caribbean or Central American power engaged in military hostilities against Castro, outside of the OAS framework. Now, with Cuba detached from the hemisphere security system, Castro would have no multilateral recourse for calling on other Latin American governments to come to his collective rescue.

Whether the US is actually tailoring its Latin American policy to suit new military tactics against Castro remains closely guarded within the Administration. There are signs, in addition to Secretary Rusk's speech, that this is so. For example, close advisers of former president Kubitschek made it clear to US officials passing through Rio de Janeiro en route to Punta del Este that Brazil would not vote for Cuba's ouster from the OAS. Their advice as long-standing allies of the US in Brazil was to wait for several months until the return of Quadros and do nothing now that would strengthen those politicians on the Brazilian Left who hope to surround him. But the US would not wait, and the reason, or so some well-placed sources believe, was the insistent pressure which has reportedly been exerted on the State Department by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Reviewing the conference in *Folho de Sao Paulo*, the respected Brazilian commentator Louis L. Wiznitzer, known as a "hard" anti-Communist, left little doubt that thoughtful Latin Americans have begun to suspect what is going on. "The two questions to be asked about Punta del Este," he wrote guardedly last week, "are why Cuba insisted on being a member of the OAS, and why the US has been determined to get her out." And the answers explain the "underlying factor in the situation."

Whatever the motivations of US negotiators at Punta del Este, the end result has been grave, though not irreparable damage to the new image of the US established in Latin America by the Kennedy Administration in the aftermath of Cuba. Publicly, Secretary Rusk has indicated there will be no reprisals against the Big Six for their abstention, but the behind-the-scenes use of the Alliance for Progress as a stick to get US votes seemed obvious to the Latin American press. Though the economy of Haiti is dependent on a US subsidy, the Duvalier dictatorship was able to humiliate the US in Latin eyes by upping the ante on Alliance aid before giving Secretary Rusk one of the badly-needed floating votes which assured a bare two-thirds majority.

Even if the guiding concern of the Kennedy Administration at Punta del Este was what the appropriations committees of Congress would think, as some argue, the adventure was nevertheless misbegotten. For the defiant behavior of the Big Six has not escaped the attention of the Congress, and the misgivings on Capitol Hill are more serious than ever.

Test of Strength in France

As of this writing the outcome of the struggle between the government of France and the saboteurs of an accord with the Algerians is unforeseeable. The government is showing renewed vigor in its campaign against the Secret Army Organization, which controls nearly all of European Algeria and which has launched some minor operations in metropolitan France itself. If de Gaulle should fail to command the loyalty of the bulk of the French Army, especially in Algeria, no cease-fire agreement with the Algerian nationalists can be sustained. Nor is it sure that de Gaulle himself could withstand a defeat of this magnitude. And that is why a number of French politicians are busily engaged in maneuvers that might bring them to the top should de Gaulle fall. During the past week, former Premier Antoine Pinay was in Washington, talking privately to newsmen and government officials on behalf of an alternative to de Gaulle which would place power in the hands of M. Pinay and a right-wing coalition in which at least two of the key ministries – Interior and Defense – would go to men acceptable to the Secret Army Organization.

Thus far, the Secret Army demonstrations and bombings have not aroused support from any substantial sector of French public opinion. At the same time, and this is the most curious and disquieting aspect of the drama, the ranks of some of the young have been infiltrated by the Secret Army mentality. Both in Algiers and in Oran, it is the young Moslems and the young French from 13 to 17 years of age who are attacking each other. In Paris likewise, the young partisans are to be found in academic groups, especially in the preparatory schools of the Army and the Navy, but also in some of the large upper-middle class secondary schools which customarily produce more snobs and social climbers than heroes.

Previously, those young people who tried to breathe new life into French politics, such as the members of the *Union National des Etudiants de France*, were in most instances over 20 years of age. What is new is that the "black jersey" teenagers have become politicians; the "beatniks" are fighting for a French Algeria. It was not so long ago that the French public expressed outrage at the switchblade fights in James Dean's film, *A Rage To Live*, and a mere three years ago it viewed with distaste the reign of the *Tricheurs* ("The Cheaters"), a club made up of well-to-do young people living in St Germain de Pres who threw away their parents' money on racing cars or on the intoxication of nihilist experimentation. But what is that to children who are getting arms and learning to use them, who are killing and in turn accepting death as their lot? In Paris this cult is not yet widespread. But in Algeria it has now become the commonly accepted state of affairs.

General de Gaulle still has extraordinary prestige among the 34- to 40-year-old group in France; to many teenagers he is, alas, only an old man and sometimes a rather grotesque old man at that. But though these restless young people, thirsting for romantic heroism, believe that they represent a new trend, they are but an impulse – one that may stay the course of history for a moment but which cannot turn it aside. The great drama is that of an entire French Government rising up against the very people who brought it to power on May 13, 1958. And these are not the young people. As General de Gaulle said in his February 5 address on French radio and TV, they are his present "subversive and criminal" right-wing opponents in Algeria and in France, General Salan, Colonel Godard, and Messrs. Pierre Lagailarde and Susini.

Food Budgets

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 attempts to cure our chronic surpluses of agricultural commodities, surpluses which are not unique to the US. The British have too much home-grown mutton, the French too much wine, the Israelis heaps of unwanted eggs. The rule appears to be that wherever a developed agriculture exists, and the prices of staples adapted to cultivation



"Amazing What the Little Critters Can Carry."

in that country are supported or otherwise subsidized, there will be a surplus.

This is a political problem and its seriousness varies with the strength of the farm vote. Together with the other small businessmen of the market towns and villages, American farmers control the politics of the countryside; what is called the farm vote in this country is really the *rural* vote.

One of the consequences is that the House of Representatives remains a shrine of agrarian fundamentalism although the farm population, rich and poor alike, has dwindled to scarcely more than eight percent of the population. Nothing like the House Agriculture Committee exists anywhere else in the federal government. Its members are hand-picked to represent the major commercial-farmer interest in each of their states. It is a pressure group paid by the people of the United States to sit inside the Capitol and there devise or modify legislation for the special benefit of the Committee's constituents.

The Administration's new farm bill has already upset some of them, for it would offer commercial farmers a choice between cutting back the production of wheat, feed grains and milk (the agricultural products in which the surplus situation is most serious) or seeing their markets for those products destroyed. If the producers do not vote to cut back their output, in separate referendums covering each commodity, the Administration's bill would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to throw about 365 million bushels of government-owned surplus feed grains, and 200 million bushels of surplus wheat on the market *at prevailing prices, no matter how low those prices may fall*. Since these quantities amount to a third of the domestic consumption in each case, the effect would be much as if grocers were loaded with so much extra bread and told to sell at any price that would induce housewives to buy all of it.

But suppose most of these surplus-producers (including the commercialized 40 percent of the farmers who produce almost 90 percent of the crops) vote to go along with the Administration's proposal after it is enacted? What then? The same law provides that they will be compensated for cutbacks in their production at a rate that is left to the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture; in fact, he is empowered to push prices to even higher levels than those prevailing now. Even if assurance that he will do so – in the form of specific amendments to the law – were not attached to the bill before it leaves the House Agriculture Committee, or on the floor of either side of the Congress, the facts of political life indicate that price supports for the un-grown as well as harvested crops will be pushed up near the top limit.

Mr. Freeman himself has estimated that the new program would save the government half a billion

dollars in its first year and about \$1 billion annually in the next four years. At the same time his own economists forecast a rise of about two percent in retail food prices over the same period, as a result of the planned scarcity of farm products that is to be brought about by this legislation.

What would this mean to the housewife? According to the Economic Research Service of the Department of Agriculture, farmers receive about two-fifths of each dollar spent at retail for farm products; the total amount they are paid for their output is \$35 billion yearly; hence consumers pay about \$95 billion for all the farm products sold in stores. And two percent added to this retail cost of food falls just short of \$2 billion, or twice the amount the Administration says it seeks to save the taxpayer. In other words, the food budget of the consumer *as consumer* will go up more than his bill as a taxpayer goes down.

No News in St. Louis

One of the strange things about American journalism is how often what would be interesting news to newspaper readers appears to be unnewsworthy to editors and publishers. Take, for example, a piece of news, as yet unprinted, about a suit in United States District Court in St. Louis. Last September 27, Dr. Linus Pauling, the Nobel prize chemist, sued the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for libel. The *Globe-Democrat* has repeatedly denounced Dr. Pauling, but it has not found the space to tell its readers about his libel suit. Oddly enough, neither has the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The basis of the suit, which asks for \$150,000 actual damages and \$150,000 exemplary damages, is a *Globe-Democrat* editorial published October 10, 1960, entitled "Glorification of Deceit." This editorial began by flaying 150 Washington University (St. Louis) faculty members for supporting Dr. Pauling's refusal to give the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Senator Dodd of Connecticut, letters Dr. Pauling had received from scientists who had associated themselves with the 1957 Pauling petition to halt nuclear testing. The editorial said, among other things: "Pauling contemptuously refused to testify and was cited for contempt of Congress. He appealed to the United States District Court to rid him of the contempt citation, which that court refused to do. The appeal from the lower court's affirmation of contempt is expected to be handed down by the Supreme Court today." The facts were, as Senator Dodd said in a letter published by the *Globe-Democrat*, October 24, 1960 (at which time the *Globe-Democrat* admitted it had printed untruths about the noted scientist), that "Dr. Pauling has not committed contempt and the subcommittee has not discussed citing him for contempt." The highly

erroneous editorial was written, so depositions on file in Federal Court state, by Richard H. Amberg, resident publisher for Samuel I. Newhouse, chain owner of the *Globe-Democrat*. Publisher Amberg enjoys the odd distinction of being doubtless the only newspaper editorial writer to have been sued both by Dr. Pauling and, in another and very different dispensation, by the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

archy in dc

We found this in one of our typewriters, evidently the work of Don Marquis' archy the cockroach (who, it will be remembered, composed by jumping on one key at a time and so was unable to capitalize).

dear boss
i wonder about those tv hearings
of course i am only a cockroach
but i wondered
because mr newton minow last may
made a speech
he called tv a wasteland and he said
something must be done
i wish i could make capital letters
but now he has become more reasonable

the hearings were big stuff
lights and tv cameras everywhere
7 fcc commissioners up there in redleather chairs
and a dozen cbs bigshots down there
for the first day and a half
the cbs people read statements
while the commissioners and the reporters
and the audience all grown-up people
with presumably lots of sensible things to do
listened
as if printing had not been invented
i think they must have more time in dc
than we do in non-governmental areas
mr ashbrook p bryant the fcc counsel
has a specially big supply of time
he was in dc
when eisenhower was and
when he arose to heat up the grille
after the day and a half of statements
he tore into dr frank stanton
the earnest head of cbs
dr stanton he asked do you or do you not
consider that television is a mighty force
for good
yes said dr stanton i do
and is it your position continued mr bryant
that the networks provide an essential service
for the entire nation
yes said dr stanton that is my position
very good said mr bryant now may i ask you
do you agree that we have in television

an essentially educative process
yes you may said dr stanton and i will reply
that the answer is affirmative
in the broadest sense

well boss it went on like that for days
everybody was very polite and friendly
and mr bryant bumbled along
daniel webster in slow motion
they have lots of time in dc
and nobody got sore and mr minow
was utterly charming
he smiled and joked and twinkled
and it was all a cosy business
between gentlemen and scholars
more or less

but i kept remembering mr minow
and his vast wasteland speech
quote your obligations are not satisfied
if you look only to popularity
as a test of what to broadcast
you are not only in show business
you are free to communicate ideas
as well as relaxation end quote

of course that was a long time ago
last may
and my insectual brain cannot divine
the inwardness of either fcc or tv
but tell me boss
what is going on question mark

Wiretap Bill

It is enormously to the credit of this Administration that, without waiting for the Supreme Court to tell them to do so – which the Court might or might not have done – the State and Justice Departments found a way to avoid withholding passports from people on the basis of secret information. And now, after making a bad start on this very problem no longer ago than last June, the Administration has introduced a wiretap bill which Attorney General Kennedy was almost fully justified in advertising as the best one drafted.

As things are, wiretapping, by anyone, including law-enforcement officers, state and federal, is illegal under the Federal Communications Act of 1934. But, except as the federal courts will not permit the use of wiretap evidence in cases that come before them, the law is not enforced. The new bill would reassert the law, with carefully circumscribed exceptions. States would be allowed to tap only in the investigation of a limited number of serious offenses, and then under a court order equivalent to the search warrant that the Constitution requires before the police can enter a home. The FBI and other federal law-enforcement

agencies are placed in the same position. But the Attorney General, on his own, without court warrant, could allow tapping in cases of espionage, treason, sabotage or subversion, as indeed he does now extra-legally, and anything he finds would be usable in court, as it is not at the present time.

To make it a wholly sensible accommodation between the value of privacy and the needs of security and law enforcement, and thus truly "the best ever drafted," the bill requires one amendment and one addition. There is no reason why, in the various subversion cases, as with murder and kidnapping, the Attorney General should not have to put his suspicions to a judge in chambers before being authorized to tap. Such a detached judgment is required at present in all cases, including treason and sabotage, before the government can search a person or a home, and the Republic has not toppled. Secondly, in order to make the prohibition against private tapping more effective than mere criminal penalties have succeeded in doing, the bill ought to subject to the strictest federal control, such as is applicable to gambling machines and to narcotics, the shipment and use of all electronic listening devices, wiretappings or other. This could be done by prohibiting shipments in interstate commerce except to authorized users, and perhaps by taxing the devices, as illegal gambling is taxed.

The Economic Report

Sympathy and sophistication combine in the President's Economic Message and the buoyantly-written Report of his Council of Economic Advisers. Both are closer in spirit to the Employment Act of 1946 than most of their predecessors in recent years.

Mr. Kennedy began by recalling the purposes of the Employment Act and noting that in two months out of three over the last 15 years the national rate of unemployment exceeded four percent. If unemployment can be kept at four percent during 1963, the sum of the country's output of goods and services would be swelled to some \$600 billion as compared with an actual total of \$521 billion in 1961. (Estimates for 1962 anticipate an improvement over '61 of some \$50 billion.)

So of the President's four stated goals, fuller employment was the first, and a closely related acceleration of economic expansion the second. Since World War II, the US growth rate has averaged $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent, with the 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent rates of the early postwar period reduced by the lower-than-average rates prevailing recently. Mr. Kennedy wants to lift the average to $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent for the 1960's. With the rapid rise in population, his advisers say it should be higher; and they have in mind that the US is party to an international accord which has a target of a 50 percent in-

crease in the combined output of the Atlantic Community during the present decade.

The third goal, equality of opportunity, is described in a tone that is meant to tell the forgotten man he has again been remembered: "the shortchanged" – the seven million families or individuals with incomes of under \$2,000 – are given new attention.

Improvement in the US balance of payments, the fourth goal, is in a somewhat more usual economic vein, but tied as it is to the President's bold tariff message, it has some of the lift of the new, hoped-for US relationship to the Common Market countries.

Such are the economic roads the President wants to travel. They do not lead to any remote, unexplored new frontier, but they take us forward. To have consistent recovery and growth with price stability, the economy must follow "a narrow middle course." Quick compensatory pressure to swing the economy back on course if it begins to wobble may make the difference between a mild variation and an economic swing that is costly alike in human frustration and in lost production. (At his January 31 press conference, the President wondered if there was "anything more expensive than the large deficits we had as a result of the '58 and '60 recessions.") Accordingly, two new authorizations are requested which would permit the President to take corrective anti-recession measures subject to Congressional veto. The first, to cut individual income taxes, is discussed elsewhere in these pages. The other would increase public works spending four months after the start of a decline. There is likewise a recommendation for cushioning the effect of joblessness through strengthened unemployment insurance, both by improving state standards to a point where an unemployed worker would receive half of his normal wage, and by bringing some three million more workers under insurance coverage.

On the opposite tack, to encourage economic growth, the President repeats his previous request for tax inducements for renewal of industrial productive facilities. To prevent prices from rising with recovery, he and the Council call on the private sector of the economy, particularly the corporations and unions in strong positions to influence general price trends, to relate wage increases to productivity gains. The CEA's report spells out in some detail the case for taking the national overall industrial growth rate as three percent, and if in a given industry the actual rate is higher, holding wage increases to the general level while cutting the broad consuming public in on some price reduction. Two purposes are thus served: inflation is forestalled, and US products become more competitive in the export market. The danger of collective bargains that charge the consuming public with the added costs they include is firmly underscored: "the bill is paid in depreciated currency to the ultimate advantage of no one."

Flexible Tax Rates

The President seeks a delegation of authority, subject to Congressional veto, to cut personal income tax rates for six months if necessary "to combat recessions." While Congressional resistance to "surrender" of the tax power will call forth a good deal of heart-felt rhetoric about the separation of powers, the basic idea has merit, precedent, non-partisan origin in a Hoover Commission report and endorsement by the CED-sponsored Commission on Money and Credit.

The idea of tax flexibility is not new; economists have been recommending it for years. It would constitute a small closing of the gap left by the Employment Act of 1946, which burdened the President with responsibility for directing government policies toward maximum employment, production and purchasing power, but failed to give him the necessary authority.

The Commission on Money and Credit, with three members dissenting, had called for Presidential power to vary the basic personal income tax rate for a six months by five points (Mr. Kennedy has accepted this), up or down (the President has asked only for authority to push taxes down, not up). An additional restriction in the CED proposal was that the President's decision to use the power must be laid before Congress for 60 days, to become effective if not vetoed by a concurrent resolution within that time. Mr. Kennedy has proposed a 30-day wait.

Such delegation has precedents in the Reorganization Acts and the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Acts. The latter legislation permits the President to exercise a part of Congress's constitutional powers over tariffs, while setting limits on the extent of his discretion. The former authorizes the President to change the structure of government agencies by laying his changes before the Congress. If not disapproved by a majority of one house within a specified time, the reorganization plan becomes law.

While some have criticized, with reason, the use made of the power exercised by the Federal Reserve over the supply of money and credit in recent years, it must be admitted that the Fed's discretion has had the advantage of speed and flexibility. The President needs these same advantages to make full use of tax policy as a stabilization tool.

On the hill, Mr. Kennedy's proposal is getting a mixed reaction. The Joint Economic Committee, for instance, probably would poll a majority for flexible provisions in principle, but not for the President's method of obtaining them. The idea of transferring more powers of initiative to the executive from the legislature and giving the legislature only a veto in return, has very little appeal. The question asked in last week's Presidential press conference about the



"Go Find Your Own Saw!"

possibility of such a power being used for political advantage revealed also that if a tax cut is made, Congress wants to be thrown the bouquets. And when, say Congressmen, was a Presidentially-recommended tax cut ever kept waiting?

It is not improbable, therefore, that the Joint Economic Committee will counter the President's request with a suggestion that legislation be drafted settling in advance the ground rules as to what kind of a cut does the most good fastest in a developing recession — whether across the board or in the lowest brackets, or whatever. In other words, automate the tax-cutting process, and fill in the figures when the time comes.

Ayub's "Basic Democracy"

A few days before the event, a high-level visitor from Pakistan accurately predicted the Ayub regime would take former Prime Minister H. S. Suhrawardy into preventive detention. The motivation, according to his prophetic account, arose from Ayub's doubts regarding popular attitudes toward his formula for perpetuating a viceregal pattern of government in Pakistan behind a façade of indirect representation which the dictator has labeled "basic democracy." It is an open

secret that even the constitutional commission hand-picked by Ayub has balked at accepting this relic of colonial rule in the scheme for a new constitution. With time shortening toward the day of a long-promised return to constitutional order, the dictator has grown anxious over signs of a widespread disposition to revive political activity—signs which he has regarded as a presumptuous challenge to his dream of creating a constitutional order devoid of parties, with the government itself as the only political group permitted.

Suhrawardy was a logical target—first, as a well identified exponent of free institutions; second, as a leader among the now-eclipsed East Pakistanis; and third, as a leading figure of the legal profession, which has been singularly and courageously critical of the Ayub dictatorship and implicitly defied the regime by electing Suhrawardy president of the Pakistan Law Institute after the regime's *ex parte* action in 1960 banning him from any future political role.

Preventive detention amounts to punishment without trial. While used sometimes by free governments as a last resort in great danger (and abused by same, as in detention of the Kashmir leader, Sheikh-Abdullah in India), it is a normal recourse only of tyrannies. The level either of danger from silent opposition or of oppression—perhaps of both—in Pakistan must be higher than Ayub has been wont to reveal. The regime's announcement of the action against Suhrawardy was straight from totalitarian copybooks, replete with horrendous, vague, subjective allegations of a sort launched by insecure tyrants. It was designed, apparently, not to convince abroad but to intimidate at home.

The portents are not reassuring, especially in view of the United States' large investment of prestige, goodwill, and wealth in support of the Ayub regime. Those conducting our foreign policy should make clear to Pakistan that they appraise this act of oppression for what it is, and that this Government does not condone among friends what it condemns in its adversaries.

Busting Up the Ball Games

Faced with a federal court order to cease discrimination in its public recreation facilities, Birmingham has decided to close them instead. Rather than permit the city's 113,000 Negroes to "mix" with the 228,000 whites, the city has decided to forego Ringling Brothers, golf, playground swings, swimming pools, public cook-outs, wrestling matches, and hundreds of acres of grass and trees that are mighty comfortable in the summertime. Right after New Year's Day, the city started posting signs on playgrounds, recreation centers, and

golf courses which said "No Trespassing. This Park Closed by Order of Park and Recreation Board." Mayor Arthur Hanes, elected last spring by a healthy majority, dismissed complaints by reminding citizens that he ran on a strict segregation platform. There has been some talk of selling the parks to private groups so that next summer's Little League schedule will not be disrupted.

But the segregationists haven't had it all their way. The first setback for Mayor Hanes, a 45-year-old ex-FBI man, and his two fellow commissioners, Eugene (Bull) Connor and J. T. (Jabo) Waggoner, came when the mayor proposed to the Parks Board that not only the recreation facilities (swings, sliding boards, and the like), but the actual park land itself be posted. The board agreed to post the facilities, but it failed to second the mayor's more drastic proposal.

"In effect, you've kept the parks open for integration," Mayor Hanes told the board. "I just want you to realize what you've done. Four members of this board have voted for integration, and one has voted against it." "You're wrong," replied a board member.

By mid-January US District Judge H. Hobart Groom was persuaded to stay his original desegregation order for 60 days, noting that, "The court is aware of the fact that many citizens of the City of Birmingham have interested themselves in an attempt to solve the problem arising out of the closing or attempted closing of the recreational facilities of the city. . . . Upon careful consideration of the entire picture—past, present, and prospective—the court is of the opinion that it will be to the best interests of all the citizens of Birmingham, both white and colored, that the effective date of said order be postponed. . . ."

Just how the extension will be used by the city is not yet known. Mayor Hanes has been quoted as saying that "Since the order is this late in coming, I don't think Judge Groom has done us any particular favor." Police and Education Commissioner Connor says, "As far as I am concerned, the parks are closed." The two newspapers, the *Post-Herald* and the *News*, are publishing editorials which, for the time and place, are almost fearless; the *News* tends to push the idea that Birmingham will lose industry if she abandons public recreation. The *Post-Herald*, a Scripps-Howard paper, seems to be saying that closing the parks would be a horrible thing, and it presents a question that has not been widely discussed in the public prints here before: If the parks are closed, what about public education, which may be abolished under Alabama law? The same newspaper took a postcard poll; complete results are not yet in, but 25 percent returns show that more than 70 percent of the respondents "favor keeping Birmingham parks open in some fashion." More than a thousand names were affixed to full-page advertise-

ments in the Birmingham papers in early January calling for "courage and common sense" and reminding the commissioners of Mayor Hanes' campaign promises for even better recreation facilities.

Several of the "No Trespassing" signs have been torn down and placed on the mayor's front lawn. A hand-painted sign saying "Wake Up Birmingham. You Are To [sic] Young To Die" was found at one of the boarded-up recreation centers. And there are reports that golfing fanatics (who have already shown, in an informal poll, that they prefer golf with Negroes to no golf at all) are playing on the city's courses anyway. The holes have been filled in, and the golfers are two-putting once they get to the greens. One Negro leader, asked about the controversy, said he thought it would have a wonderful effect on the whites of Birmingham. "It'll show them how it is to have nothing," he said.

Iraq Oil

It is for the moment fashionable in Cairo and Baghdad to write off every difficulty as a new manifestation of British imperialism. The tag is well-worn, and it would be unimportant were it not that Premier Qassem of Iraq has contrived to link it with his present onslaught on the Iraq Petroleum Company. A gullible public accepts it as fact that the company is a surviving symbol of Britain's former dominance, though the company is actually multi-national; the other nationalities involved are the French *Compagnie des Petroles*, Jersey *Standard* and *Socony Mobil Oil*.

These major participants in Iraq's oil production have been negotiating with Qassem, on and off for more than a year, in an attempt to meet his wish to do better than a 50/50 share in profits. Companies that have lately negotiated new concessions in the Persian Gulf have been offering better terms, including payment to the local government of up to 57 percent of the profits and – the innovation that counts most with nationalists – local government participation in ownership and management.

As a negotiator, Qassem suffers from two handicaps. Unlike the Egyptians or the Saudi Arabians, he can produce few or no officials who understand the world oil business (Iraq's best expert is in exile, and working for Libya). And, as his home position is precarious, he needs some showy development to bolster his reputation. His demands, therefore, have been spectacular rather than astute. The two main changes he wants, or wanted at one stage or another, are 20 percent participation in ownership and management, and recovery from the company of the unused parts of its concession, which are the bulk of the whole in terms of area. The negotiators were ready to meet him generously about areas, and to give up all but ten percent.

But, as they explained to him in the summer, they could not easily manage the first, because whereas local participation in risks and investment is easy to fix when the concession is new, its value is almost beyond assessment when these lie in the past.

Failing satisfaction on a long list of requirements, Qassem in December put through a law which restricted the company areas to about 0.44 percent of the original concessions. Last month, he added that "the government is preparing new legislation whereby Iraq will realize without further negotiation all the demands it has laid before the Iraq Petroleum Company." The boast is worth study because, were he to contrive to fulfil it, other Arab governments would be bound to take a leaf from his book; in Saudi Arabia, *Aramco*, which is the major US private investment in the Middle East, might be affected.

The Iraq Petroleum Company has fallen back on the clause in its concession which provides for arbitration in the event of disputes, and has named a British judge as its arbitrator. But as Qassem has already passed legislation annulling other parts of the concession, he is unlikely to fall in with the arrangement and name an opposite number.

A point that often seemed to escape the Iraqi negotiating team (as, indeed, it escaped Mussadiq ten years ago) is a practical, not a moral one: It is much easier to produce oil than to market it. Thanks to new discoveries, particularly in North Africa, there is for the moment a glut of oil in the world. Russia, itself an exporter, is not a buyer. Further, the major oil companies enjoy a distribution network so large that newcomers find it difficult to push their way in except on a purely national basis – a Japanese company to Japan, an Italian one to Italy. There is also the possibility that, upon the arrival of Iraqi oil in foreign ports, the owners of the IPC concession will sue for it as purloined from their rightful areas.

Qassem's dilemma is that while he would like to win a round of applause, he is not anxious to deprive himself of good tenants who constitute his main source of revenue. And if he holds up their production he will find, as Mussadiq did, that there are plenty of rival exporters ready to take up any slack he may provide.

South African Underground

After years of forbearance, the struggle for African rights in South Africa has moved into a violent stage. The formation of a clandestine movement known as *Umkonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation, in Zulu) signifies a final turning away from hope that peaceful change might be accomplished by traditional protest and reconciliation. It means that the Republic of South Africa's vast mineral resources and her strategic posi-

tion between two Southern oceans is at once vulnerable to an underground which reflects the sentiments of a desperate majority.

Umkonto We Sizwe is a conscious attempt to "liberate" a people who comprise more than two-thirds of South Africa's population. In recent weeks it has simultaneously sabotaged numerous installations within the country, planted home-made bombs at strategic centers, and published handbills in Zulu and English asking Africans to destroy state property.

Since the National Party won a sweeping election victory in 1948, South Africa has been ruled more and more repressively by a white Boer oligarchy now led by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. Africans, Asians and coloreds have had their political and economic rights steadily eroded. They have, in the Africans' case, been crowded into rural *Bantustans* and segregated by the rationale of *apartheid*. English-speaking whites have also suffered, and the Afrikaan-speaking minority (descendants of 17th Century Dutch soldiers and contract labor) has daily made its political position more secure by altering the franchise, by gerrymandering constituencies, by packing the parliament's upper house, and by subordinating the judiciary to the executive. The secret police and military, moreover, are powerful servants of a government dedicated to the forceful suppression of all African political and social emancipation. In the years since 1948, South Africa has contrived to isolate itself almost completely from the community of civilized nations.

Umkonto We Sizwe promises that the "government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only." It specifically seeks to overthrow the National Party, to abolish white supremacy and to win "liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality" for all the people of South Africa. The police think whites and Asians are playing a large role in the new movement, and there is little doubt that some indirect foreign support is involved. South Africa's internal security system is excellent and highly efficient, but the new radical approach is almost certain to constitute an increasingly explosive component of change. The pace of protest will quicken even more as anti-colonialism intensifies in Portuguese Africa and in the Rhodesias to the north.

Samoa's Coming of Age

Another state popping off the production line is scarcely big news any more; newspapers noted Western Samoa's independence on inside pages, if at all. The event came to our notice a month late as an incidental result of searching the back files for something else. Anyway, the arrival of this newest and reputedly smallest of nations is hereby tardily hailed.

Small as it is, with a mainly Polynesian population of barely more than 100,000, Western Samoa could probably obtain from some munificent great power an indirect subsidy whereby to build and staff a foreign office, to send envoys to at least a few capitals abroad, and to maintain a delegation at the plateglass world headquarters in New York City – if the Western Samoans so wished. Neophyte nations not much larger and relatively less affluent in material and talent have managed all this.

These newcomers, however, have other ideas about their future. The status symbols of world politics exercise small charm for them. Life on the two islands, Upolu and Sawai'i, is adequately challenging – without getting involved in the Congo's problems, the Kashmir issue, and the intricacies of arms control. "Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?" as George Washington once asked. And so, whatever problems in foreign affairs may intrude will be left by the Samoans for New Zealand to handle.

The UN Account

Out of poverty, apathy, or opposition, some of the member governments in the UN have been withholding contributions assessed for peace-and-security operations in the Gaza Strip and the Congo. The result is that the world organization is about \$94 million in arrears. These operations are carried on in part by agencies of the UN proper and in part by certain governments on behalf of the UN on a reimbursable basis. To tide itself over temporarily, the UN has drawn on other accounts and has left some bills unpaid, piling up unsatisfied charges of about \$110 million for the peace-and-security undertakings.

To restore tidiness and to ward off debacle, it is proposed to convert the array of short-term obligations into long-term obligations. Under authorization from the General Assembly, the UN is floating bonds repayable at two percent over 25 years. The bond servicing charge will be subsumed into the central UN budget to be met by regular assessments against members. Thus governments have authorized the UN to borrow from some governments so that it can pay some governments what it owes but cannot pay because some governments have not been paying what they owe the UN. The hope is that some governments will henceforth do better about paying what they owe the UN so that it can do better about paying some governments what it will owe them in consequence of having borrowed from them so as to be able to pay some governments what it owes them but cannot pay because some governments have not been paying what they owe the UN. Reduced to a chart, it may all be plainly seen.

If the US buys \$100 million in bonds, as the Presi-

dent asks, others may buy more – even up to the \$200 million of the flotation. If the US should decline, the flotation would probably fail altogether. The argument that the bond issue is good because the Communist powers are against it is threadbare. The President's argument that in the long run the project will save the US some money could be right, but proving it might take years and the labor of a platoon of accountants. Yet it will be much better to buy than not, for the simple reason that the peace-and-security operations of the UN are a proven, and unique, asset.

Test Moratorium

It is too pessimistic to assume that nuclear testing will now go on indefinitely, but the chances for a formally negotiated halt faded into the distant future with the indefinite suspension of the Geneva talks. Perhaps the Russians never intended to sign a treaty. There is some evidence, however, that in the early days of these long, drawn-out discussions they were negotiating seriously; perhaps because they hoped an agreement would curtail Chinese nuclear development. David Inglis in his article in this issue is probably correct in designating this episode the the latest in a series of missed opportunities.

Whether our government should now resume atmospheric explosions depends largely on the value of what might be learned by testing (especially in developing an anti-missile missile), as well as on an estimate of the possibility of reestablishing a moratorium. When last commenting on this issue (November 13) we reviewed the possible improvements in nuclear weapons which might result from above ground testing. We concluded then, and nothing has come to light since to change our assessment, that on the basis of the information in the public domain no convincing case for

the resumption of atmospheric testing could be made at the present time.

It is pushing this point too far, however, to assert that the potential developments from atmospheric testing would *necessarily* unstabilize the present balance of terror. The contrary could be true, if American tests were to uncover vulnerabilities in our nuclear weapons systems of which we are not aware. The Soviets' big H-bomb tests may, for example, have shown Russian generals that "hardened" American missile sites are not as hard as we think. If this were true, and if America continued to depend on these missiles for its second strike deterrent, the Soviets would have reason to build and use a first strike weapons system.

Nevertheless, while conceding that information available only to the President and his advisers may swing the balance in the other direction, we believe that further efforts should be made to secure an atmospheric test moratorium before the US initiates the test series for which it is now feverishly preparing. The reasons for this have become too obvious for elaboration. Two will suffice – the hazard to health in loosing more radioactive debris into the atmosphere, and the desperate need to put a brake on the spreading tit-for-tat, test-for-test competition. Those dangers have, according to the latest Gallup Poll, persuaded almost half the American people resuming tests is undesirable.

The US should make it clear to the Soviets that we are ready to test and intend to remain in a state of readiness throughout any moratorium or treaty period. But from this position of readiness we should give the Soviets a reasonable period in which to agree to an atmospheric ban. Such an atmospheric ban could not conceivably impair Russian secrecy, for unlike a ban that covers underground testing, it could be effectively monitored without inspections inside the USSR. We should also be prepared to resume negotiations on an adequately inspected ban on all testing.

WHAT WILL BE DONE WITH THE TRUJILLO PROPERTIES?

The US and the Dominicans

In the nearly two months since the Dominican Republic was discussed in these pages, there has been significant progress in that small Caribbean nation struggling to free itself from a third of a century of Trujillo tyranny. The advance has been precariously achieved by anti-Trujillo, pro-democratic elements

which have had active US aid and encouragement.

In mid-January, ambitious young Air Force General Roderiguez Echevarria seized control of the government from the unpopular Trujillo holdover, President Balaguer, and tried to establish himself as a new dictator. He was, however, quickly ousted and arrested

by officers supporting the provisional ruling council installed at the beginning of this year to govern until the constitution can be rewritten and new elections held. In the upshot, Dr. Rafael Bonnelly of the anti-Trujillo National Civic Union (UCN), a respected citizen and wealthy businessman, was installed as President – pledged to carry democratization forward.

Sanctions of the Organization of American States have now been lifted, the US and other Western hemisphere countries have restored full diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic, and Washington has sent a mission to explore the Republic's economic needs. Everything looks fine. The State Department can properly take credit for some expertly done hard work. The OAS has seemingly scored a rather impressive triumph in aiding, through use of sanctions, the termination of an oppressive dictatorship and its peaceful replacement with a regime dedicated to democratic rule. So far so good.

But in an election year of decisive importance for the Republic's future, bitter conflict is bound to develop between parties and factions hitherto united in opposition to Trujilloism. For the stakes in Dominican politics are high – literally. This is so because the Trujillos left behind an economic empire embracing well over half of the national wealth of the country. This empire includes industrial plants, real estate, trade enterprises, communication facilities – including radio stations and newspapers – homes, plantations, sugar mills and all sorts of other things. The magnitude of the Trujillo property can be judged by the fact that 71 percent of Dominican sugar properties – land, mills, production – was owned by the family; and sugar is by far the most important wealth of the country.

What happens to all this property of the Trujillos? It has been already confiscated by the provisional ruling council in one of its first acts. But what of its further fate? Is it to be "returned" to former owners as some leading figures in the UCN have been heard to suggest? The catch here is that only a part of this accumulation of wealth was actually stolen or confiscated by the Trujillos from other Dominicans. Some former holders sold out for advantage or price of one sort or another or cut the Trujillos in on valuable enterprises. And much of the value of the property was created in any case under the Trujillo regime itself – out of the sweat of ruthlessly exploited workers and out of hardships imposed on a whole people by a near-totalitarian system of economic controls designed to increase the Trujillo take. Is this former Trujillo property to be nationalized – as many Dominicans consider that it should? It is to be "given" to the workers in the Trujillo enterprises themselves – as former President Dr. Balaguer proposed – and in what form could this be done?

Here is obviously a question exceedingly complex.

And here obviously is the real opportunity for a gigantic political giveaway which would deprive the Dominican people of their rightful interests in this vast property – and deprive the nation of its chance for a healthy future. The crucial questions, it seems to me, are efficiency of management and honesty of handling of the property and its product. One thing stands out – the fact that among American countries the Dominican Republic is now in a position most easily and painlessly of all to establish a viable "mixed" economy – part free enterprise and part socialist, with the two sectors complementing with each other and competing with each other. This has in effect already been done through confiscation – and all that remains is to be sure the Trujillo properties are held in one or another form in trust for the nation with the income accruing to the desperate health-educational-social needs of the impoverished people.

There is a widespread illusion abroad in both the US and the countries of the Caribbean that Dominicans are well off. Nothing could be further from the truth in most parts of the country. Anyone who has seen the Dominican provinces knows that many many Dominicans live little or no better than the next-door Haitians – who are proverbially cited as the poorest people of the hemisphere. There are several hundred thousand unemployed Dominicans, many of them hungry. Even the employed make in most cases miserable wages. As late as November 1961 cane cutters in some regions were getting some 55 cents a ton – with a whole family, including women, able to cut around two tons a day. This is in a country where prices were higher by far than in the US.

The US government has been waist deep in Dominican affairs. That interest must continue, though prudently. Common sense would indicate that there now ought to be a very careful, friendly neutrality as between the different groups seeking power; already there is too much US "sponsorship" of individuals and groups, in particular the UCN.

Yet at the same time, the US government which is being called on by Dominicans for economic help in various forms cannot afford not to interest itself in the fate of the Trujillo properties. The American sugar consumer is likely soon to be paying to Dominican sugar producers – largely to the former Trujillo properties now confiscated – up to \$50 million a year over world open market prices under terms of the US Sugar Act. A \$25 million credit is to be advanced by the US as an initial commitment. No economic aid program for the Dominican Republic can be meaningful, however, unless the former Trujillo properties are used efficiently for the benefit of the entire nation and not just of one class or clique. And the US government has an obligation to Dominicans to see that this is realized.

THOMAS P. WHITNEY

"What we need, as the ancients understood, is not a politician who is a businessman, but a king who is a philosopher."

— G. K. CHESTERTON, *The Common Man*.

They Said "No" to McCone

The United States Senate, with 71 yeas and 12 nays, approved on January 31, 1962 the President's nomination of John A. McCone as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. The 12 negative votes were cast by: Mrs. Smith (R, Me.), Case (R, N.D.), Fulbright (D, Ark.), Lausche (D, Ohio), Burdick (D, N.D.), Byrd (D, W. Va.), Gruening (D, Alaska), Metcalf (D, Mont.), Neuberger (D, Oregon), Proxmire (D, Wis.), McCarthy (D, Minn.), and Young (D, Ohio). In addition, Senators Joseph Clark, Paul Douglas and Wayne Morse, absent for the vote, were announced as being paired against confirmation. The following remarks are taken from statements made during the three-day debate.

MRS. SMITH. I shall vote against confirmation of the appointment of John A. McCone to be Director of Central Intelligence. I shall do so because I do not consider him qualified for this very important position, because:

First. He had no training or experience in the field of intelligence prior to his appointment — while all of his predecessors had.

Second. A very serious question existed in his own mind about his qualifications; yet he did not raise this question with the President of the United States.

These disturbing facts are recorded on page 53 of the hearing record on his nomination, and by his own very terse and unequivocal answers to (my) questions . . .

Senator Smith. Will you tell the committee what training or experience you had in the field of intelligence prior to your appointment to that position?

Mr. McCone. None.

Senator Smith. In view of your lack of training and experience in the field of intelligence, you are unique, are you not, in comparison with all of your predecessors?

Mr. McCone. I do not know that because I do not know the experience of my predecessors.

Senator Smith. What then makes you feel that you are suitably and adequately qualified to be the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency when you have had no experience or training in the field of intelligence?

Mr. McCone. I think, Senator, that that was a question decided by others than I.

Senator Smith. Who recommended you for the appointment?

Mr. McCone. I do not know.

Senator Smith. Who beside the President talked with you about taking the position?

Mr. McCone. No one.

Senator Smith. Was there not some question in your own mind about your qualifications?

Mr. McCone. A very serious one.

Senator Smith. Did you not raise such a question with the President and others with whom you talked?

Mr. McCone. I raised it in my own conscience, naturally; with my wife. Yes.

Senator Smith. But not with the President?

Mr. McCone. No; I did not raise it with the President.

MR. GRUENING. We have in the *Record* what seems to me to be a somewhat pertinent revelation of some of Mr. McCone's mental processes. Back in October 1956, in the closing days of the presidential campaign, a group of scientists on the faculty of the California Institute of Technology issued a statement calling attention to Adlai Stevenson's suggestion, which he had made in the course of the campaign, that atomic testing should be suspended. The statement of these 10 scientists was a reasonable one. They were exercising their rights as free citizens to express a view pertinent to the campaign. In addition to being free citizens, they were knowledgeable ones on the issue involved, since they were all physicists and chemists who had firsthand knowledge of the effect of radiation following atomic bomb explosions. Mr. McCone, who was a trustee of Cal Tech and was campaigning vigorously for the reelection of President Eisenhower and against Adlai Stevenson, exploded with wrath at this statement and wrote a caustic letter to Dr. Thomas Lauritsen, professor of physics at the California Institute of Technology, and made his indignation known to the president of that institution and to fellow members of the board . . . Mr. McCone [in his letter to Dr. Lauritsen] charges

the scientists with advocating the unilateral abandoning of the H-bomb and A-bomb tests. He says: "A unilateral decision of the type you recommend might be fatal to our country."

I find nothing in the letter of the scientists which recommends unilateral abandonment. All it does is to recommend action along the lines advocated by Adlai Stevenson, which indicated clearly that unless other nations followed our lead in abandoning atomic bomb testing, we would be free to resume testing.

In the course of his letter [to the scientists] Mr. McCone said: "Your statement is obviously designed to create fear in the minds of the uninformed that radiation fallout from H-bomb tests endangers life. However, as you know, the National Academy of Sciences has issued a report this year completely discounting this danger."

Mr. President, here is Mr. McCone making a flat statement which scarcely will stand up; yet he is the man who is going to be the interpreter of the vast amount of information which is collected by his staff. Mr. McCone's indignation at the statement of these scientists is not fully disclosed by the hearings, but he made no secret of the fact of his great perturbation, and discussed it with the President of Cal Tech, Lee Dubridge, and some of his fellow trustees.

The fact is that Mr. McCone's evaluation of the letter of the scientists, as shown by his reply to Mr. Lauritsen, in my judgment raises a serious doubt about his objectivity as an evaluator, which will be one of his major functions, if not his major function as Director of Central Intelligence.

If we go back to the statement of Adlai Stevenson, made in a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 21, 1956, he proposed that we cease atomic testing and urge other nations to follow our example. If they did not do so, we reserved the right to change our policy.

Well, is not that precisely what was subsequently done, or was tried, by the United States? Yet, Mr. McCone denounced these scientists violently, showing a passion which certainly does not reveal the degree of objectivity which should be so essential in the evaluation of reports which will come in from all over the world. With his views so definitely known, how objective can we assume will be the reports of his vast staff. . . ?

Indeed, Mr. McCone's subsequent testimony, under cross-questioning, reveals how mistaken his violent indignation at these scientists proved to be. My colleague, Senator Bartlett, a member of the Committee on Armed Services, also asked some searching questions.

Referring to Mr. McCone's statement in his letter to the scientists that "the National Academy of Sciences had issued a report completely discounting

such a danger," Senator Bartlett asked, "Do you know if the National Academy of Sciences has changed its view relating to this since then?"

Mr. McCone replied: "I do not know of any official statement. They put out a report in the spring of 1958 that dealt with the question of the genetic and other effects from radioactive fallout resulting from reference to testing, and, as I recall the report, it tended to minimize the effects at the level of radiation, at the then existing level of radiation or the level to be expected from the tests that had taken place or might be expected if tests were continued at about that level. . . . Of course, this subject has been reviewed and reviewed many times, as Senator Jackson knows, and there are wide differences of opinion among scientists, and sincere differences of opinion, concerning the effects of radioactive fallout."

Senator Bartlett. But there is no difference of opinion, is there, among scientists as to the dangers that would be inherent in radioactive fallout in case one of these bombs was to be dropped on any nation?

Mr. McCone. No I think there is pretty general agreement that there will result an area of intense radioactivity which would be lethal and the extent of that area is dependent upon the atmospheric conditions and the wind and all the rest. But there is no difference of opinion among scientists as to the fact that there would be serious radioactive consequences from an atomic exchange.

Thus, Mr. McCone admitted that there are wide differences of opinion, concerning the effects of radioactive fallout, the very fact about which he had castigated the ten scientists.

I wonder how valuable the evaluation of complicated and complex information from all over the world would be by a man who violently denounces a group of scholars for merely calling attention to and discussing the question of the damage from atomic fallout, on which he presumably was expert, and then, under cross-examination, is compelled to admit that his original castigation merely presented another point of view on a question on which, he admitted, scientists had sincere differences of opinion.

MR. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the Office of Director of the Central Intelligence Agency is unique in our government. It is unique in that the man who holds it is entrusted with the direction of a vast organization which, though it is engaged in worldwide activities of the most sensitive nature, is not subject to the close scrutiny of its appropriations and operations customarily applied to the other agencies of our Government by Congress, by the press, and by the public. The CIA thus exerts a powerful influence on the character and conduct of our foreign relations, without being subject to the processes of consultation and

review of its activities by the committees of Congress normally charged with responsibility in this area.

In this instance, neither the Committee on Foreign Relations nor its chairman was consulted about the appointment, and the committee has not been given an opportunity to be informed with regard to the nominee's views about our relations with foreign nations, and especially about the issues involved in the cold war.

The record before the Senate reveals little, if anything, regarding the views or opinions of Mr. McCone about the fundamental policies affecting the security of our country.

In short, I do not feel that I am sufficiently informed about the convictions of this nominee regarding the foreign policy of our Government to endorse them by an affirmative vote.

MR. MCCARTHY. If it were true that from now on the Central Intelligence Agency would be operated in such manner that the gathering of intelligence would be its sole function, I would have no question about supporting the confirmation of John A. McCone. Or if he were put in charge of only the intelligence-gathering operations, I would have no hesitation about supporting confirmation of his nomination. If he were appointed to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, I would have no hesitation about supporting his confirmation. Of if he were appointed to be Secretary of the Air Force or Under Secretary of the Air Force, I would have no hesitation about supporting confirmation of his nomination.

However, the Senate is being asked to confirm the nomination of John A. McCone to be the Director of Central Intelligence. At the opening of the hearings, the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee said: "This office is perhaps second in importance only to the office of the President."

Certainly I agree with that statement. However, Mr. President, if the head of this Agency is to have no part in policy-making, then in my judgment this office is not second in importance to that of the President.

But because there is on the record evidence that at least in the near future the head of this Agency will be in a position to make policy, I believe his views relating to foreign policy and to other important questions, not only in regard to the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency but also in regard to some of the operations which have been carried out in the name of foreign policy, are of fundamental importance for consideration by the Members of the Senate when they are called upon to vote on the question of confirmation.

The nominee has the reputation of being a good administrator. I am not prepared to challenge that. Nearly everyone whose nomination is sent to us has a

reputation of being a good administrator.

The question of knowledge of foreign policy is one which can be passed upon only in very general terms and by very subjective standards. I would feel more confident in passing on this appointment if there were a more extensive record of the views of the nominee. He is, according to one columnist, hard boiled; according to the *Economist*, a man of temper; according to *Newsweek*, a tough man; according to the *Wall Street Journal*, hard driving.

These are not undesirable qualities in the head of the CIA. They are not the only good qualities possessed by the nominee, but they are the qualities which have been especially stressed in newspaper comment. Taken by themselves, they are not enough to qualify a person for this difficult and sensitive office.

The Director of the CIA should be more interested in finding evidence and passing objective judgment on it than in attempting to polarize opinions or to support a set position.

MR. CLARK. The regulations of the Central Intelligence Agency dealing with the conflict-of-interest question . . . were printed in the January 29 issue of the *Congressional Record* at page 974. . . I repeat them now:

- (b) Conflicts of Interest. 1. Definition. A conflict of interest is defined as a situation in which an Agency employee's private interest, usually but not necessarily of an economic nature, conflicts or appears to conflict with his Agency duties and responsibilities. The situation is of concern to the Agency whether the conflict is real or only apparent.
- (c) Financial Interests. Employees may not (a) have direct or indirect financial interests that conflict substantially, or appear to conflict substantially, with their responsibilities and duties as Agency employees.

Mr. President, I now state briefly for the *Record* the facts gleaned from the hearings before the Committee on Armed Services with respect to the stockholdings of the nominee. These, too, appear in the January 29 *Record* at page 978, the first column:

Mr. McCone stated that he owned a little in excess of \$1 million of stock in Standard Oil of California. He stated that the company had "extensive reserves in Arabia and in the offshore island in the Persian Gulf of Bahrein, and also extensive reserves in Sumatra, and Venezuela."

Standard Oil of California is one of the four companies which makes up the Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco), along with the Texas Co., Standard Oil of New Jersey and Mobil Oil. Aramco, according to Mr. McCone, does have relationships with the governments of Arabia and Bahrein.

I interpolate the note that Standard Oil of California in its August, 1961, report to stockholders, lists Mr.

McCone as owning 18,318 shares, and as receiving 915 additional shares by way of stock dividend. The total value of 19,233 shares, according to New York Times listing for the \$54.25 closing price of Standard Oil of California on the New York Stock Exchange yesterday, is \$1,043,390.25.

Mr. President, I shall not deal in speculation. I shall not deal in published articles of syndicated columnists.

I merely say that I think every well-informed American knows that the American oil companies are deep in the politics of the Middle East. We know also that the Central Intelligence Agency is deep in the politics of the Middle East. It is inconceivable to me that the Central Intelligence Agency representatives in the Middle East should not be in constant contact with the representative of the American oil companies in that area.

On Resuming Nuclear Test

by David R. Inglis

Since the collapse, again, of the three-power test-ban talks in Geneva last week, there is a widespread feeling that further negotiations would be an exercise in futility. I do not share this sentiment. To explain why, some brief review is necessary.

The first discussion within our government of a nuclear test ban occurred in secret. In 1952, Vanevar Bush advised Secretary of State Dean Acheson that we should refrain from carrying out our test of the first thermonuclear device (forerunner of the H-bomb) which was then being prepared. He recommended that we should instead hold the test in readiness but propose to the Soviets that they and we refrain from thermonuclear testing. As Dr. Bush said later (April 23, 1954), he felt it improper to hold that test just before an election, "to confront an incoming President with an accomplished test for which he would carry the full responsibility thereafter. For that test marked our entry into a very disagreeable type of world. In the second place, I felt strongly that the test ended the possibility of the only type of agreement that I thought was possible with Russia at that time, namely, an agreement to make no more tests. For that kind of agreement would have been self-policing in the sense that if it was violated, the violation would be immediately known. I still think that we made a grave error in conducting that test at that time, and not trying to make that type of simple agreement with Russia."

For all his prestige as chief scientific advisor to the government during and after the war, Dr. Bush's plea went unheeded. If it had been accepted, if both sides had refrained from dragging us beyond the A-bomb and into the H-bomb age, the strategic balance would now be of a different character, with an A-bomb threat

still great enough for deterrence but without the extra instabilities introduced by the H-bomb of lightning surprise attack on an incredibly massive scale. The technical problems of an effective arms control agreement would have been greatly eased.

At the time of that proposal, in 1952, we had an enormous preponderance over the Soviets both of A-bombs and of the bombers to deliver them. To have withheld our test, while holding it in stand-by readiness and continuing theoretical development, would not have risked letting the Soviets upset the balance, as Dr. Bush doubtless surmised. The purpose of those whose enthusiasm for further development carried the day was to augment our A-bomb advantage by getting a long jump ahead of the Soviets in the H-bomb category, too. (It was then expected that they would be a long time catching up.) The Bush proposal would have frozen a situation in which we were way ahead, but in which the Soviets might eventually catch up if, as seemed doubtful, they could out-produce us in A-bombs and bombers.

The first open proposal of a nuclear test-ban agreement was published in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* in 1954, at which time both sides were racing to develop H-bombs that greatly increased the preponderance of offense over defense. The proposal aimed at slowing down this race. It was put forward as a type of arms development control, not out of concern for radioactive fallout. It was explicitly suggested that, particularly at first, until confidence grew, theoretical developments should be continued and tests kept almost ready as insurance against a breakdown of a US-Soviet agreement.

By 1958 a nuclear test ban had become the subject of intense negotiations. A see-saw of proposals for an unpoliced moratorium on nuclear testing, pending agreement on a test ban, developed during this period. After a substantial series of nuclear tests early in 1958,

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the Soviets proposed a moratorium on all tests. But at that moment the US was in the midst of preparations for a series of tests in the early autumn, and was in no mood to be tricked into giving them up just after the Soviets had had their tests. Instead, our government proposed that a moratorium should start right after our test series.

In retrospect, this insistence on going ahead again appears to have been a mistake. When the Soviets first proposed the moratorium, they had had many fewer tests than we. They were considerably behind in the general nuclear technology and had tested no weapon over three megatons. Our biggest was about five times that powerful. We were also still far ahead in nuclear weapons technology, according to official estimates.

A moratorium was still to our advantage at the end of the year, although by then the Russians had also tested a 15 megaton bomb. It is thus puzzling why President Eisenhower announced in 1959 that we could no longer be bound by the moratorium, and why Khrushchev continued the test cessation for three years before suddenly breaking it.

In the same year, 1959, almost as a diversion from the political discussions, a conference of technical experts was set up which rather surprisingly came up with what seemed like a sufficiently sound technical basis for a test-ban control system. While it was recognized that technical means could not guarantee detection of a fairly small underground test evading the ban, the combined political and technical judgment was that a system of sampling would have a fair chance of detecting an evasive shot and should deter evasion, particularly since a single small underground explosion would have quite limited value in weapons development.

But despite the hopeful proposal of the technical experts, our attitude shifted to one of greater caution lest some clandestine underground testing by the USSR might help them reduce our nuclear superiority. This shift was based partly on technical reservations, but mostly on political judgments overly protective of our temporarily advantageous position. The obstacle to establishing a *completely* effective inspection network, with a finer mesh, arose from a Soviet attitude which seemed to us excessively preoccupied with military secrecy, particularly on their missile launching sites. The negotiations failed, primarily because each side was trying to preserve a special advantage over the other and would not yield to any mutual overriding advantage.

What has happened since then? The Soviet advantage in superior military secrecy has been reduced, for Polaris submarines are as invulnerable as the best concealed Soviet base.

During the 1958-1960 negotiations there was a

tendency on the part of some of our nuclear weapons experts to emphasize that much could be learned from underground tests, and so we resumed underground testing. Now they emphasize that we cannot learn nearly so much about weapons from underground tests as the Soviets recently have learned in the atmosphere and that we therefore now need atmospheric tests if we are going to maintain the length of our lead over them. In retrospect, considering that there tends to be less and less to learn as both sides go on testing, it seems we would have retained our lead much better if we had stuck by our more optimistic negotiating attitude of mid-1958 and had attained a test-ban agreement with an only moderately effective control system. Any gain the Soviets could hypothetically have made by undetected underground tests would have been small compared to their recent gains from atmospheric tests – gains which no amount of American testing appears likely to offset.

Preliminary analysis of evidence on the recent Soviet tests is reported to show that their gain, while substantial, has not been great enough to overcome our lead in nuclear capabilities. But let us assume that they have almost or approximately caught up with us. President Kennedy has authorized preparations for atmospheric tests and is withholding judgment on whether or not to go ahead with them. When the tests are approaching readiness, it will not be surprising to hear again that national security compels our going ahead if we are not to fall behind.

The Illusion of Keeping Ahead

This situation gives us another opportunity to promote a test-ban agreement based on *approximate equality*, not on distinct superiority. Rather than continue the see-saw and seek agreement after we have finished a test series, when presumably the Soviets will again feel that their technical lag must be offset by their greater secrecy, we would be more apt to break the impasse if we hold our atmospheric tests in abeyance and refrain from testing while doing anything possible to attain a useful test-ban agreement. The value of a test ban is now more limited than it would have been three years ago, but it is still worth striving for. The hope of unilateral national advantage has become largely illusory; the mutual goal of reducing tensions and the likelihood of future nuclear war remains.

In the test ban negotiations of the past year, the Kennedy Administration has made sincere advances that have not been reciprocated by the Soviets. The first of these constructive advances were made, unfortunately, during a period when Soviet foreign policy had apparently yielded to Soviet military demands for further tests and was no longer anxious to achieve a

test-ban agreement. We were confronted by the sudden "Troika" demand, and then by the new series of Soviet tests themselves. We have reduced our demand for on-site inspections in the USSR from 20 per year to a possible 12, seeking to accommodate the Soviet preference for only 3. When made, that was a reasonable offer, but the situation has changed, and in view of the fact that the Soviets have now learned much of what we hoped the control system would prevent them from learning, we could safely accept still fewer on-site inspections. We have offered also to reduce the mesh of seismic stations (from 21 to 19 in the USSR, for example). On this point it would not be advisable to concede further in view of the need to have the system function in other countries later and to make use of advancing seismic techniques.

Since completion of their recent atmospheric tests series, the Soviets have been blustering and elusive. They switched from a demand for combined test-ban and disarmament negotiations to a demand for separate talks on an uncontrolled (or self-controlled) test-ban agreement, and they then broke off the talks altogether. This crescendo of annoyance and confusion does not necessarily, it seems to me, suggest that the Kremlin has lost all trust in suggestions from our side. It is quite possible that we might yet succeed in inducing a favorable shift in Soviet policy if we further reduce our requirements for on-site inspections and propose other limitations to convince the Soviets that they are wrong in claiming that the test-control machinery would be an effective instrument for Western espionage. Russia and Americans should both be sensitive to the independent advantages of a test ban, even without disarmament, as a step both toward preventing trigger-fine tensions from mounting and toward bringing the many-nuclear-nation problem under control. In trying to formulate an attractive proposal, it might be useful to combine a test ban with other partial measures, such as the establishment of atom-free zones and an agreement not to transfer nuclear weapons to other nations.

What Can We Gain by Testing?

What military advantage might we give up if we should not test in the atmosphere in "response" to the recent Soviet series? There seems to be more reason for concern over the development of anti-missile missiles than over "fantastic new weapons" such as the much over-rated "neutron bomb." Presumably both sides by now have atomic warheads compact enough for use in trying to intercept incoming ICBM's. Probably the more important future developments lie in the development of evasion and counter-evasion missile techniques, not requiring atmospheric nuclear tests ex-

cept at the stage of proving out actual effectiveness. It seems unlikely that the Soviets reached this stage in their recent tests. Only one determination of the altitude of their air bursts has been released, 12,000 feet (for their biggest test). This altitude is much too low to be of interest in missile interception.

The goal of developing anti-missile missiles does not seem to be promising enough to warrant the sacrifice of negotiating opportunity involved in resuming atmospheric tests. In World War II, ten percent attrition of manned bombers by anti-aircraft was considered extremely good. Anti-missile missiles might eventually do considerably better than that, but it is inconceivable that they will not let a large fraction of an attack through, particularly when it is a massive attack. In a speech at Cornell University on January 5, Dr. Hans Bethe, head of the special committee of scientists which made the preliminary evaluation of the Russian tests, said that although a missile will presumably be able to destroy an ICBM by means of an atomic explosion, "the offense can send decoys along with their missiles, and they can send many missiles simultaneously which saturate the radars of the defense. Thus I think the AICBM (anti intercontinental ballistic missile) is virtually hopeless. . . ."

But suppose we resume atmospheric tests, and eventually develop an anti-missile missile. If this were to happen, the question is not "Will we gain if we have this weapon and they don't?" but rather "Will we gain if we both have it?" The answer is that we would not gain much, for having an anti-missile missile increases the adversary's incentive for a surprise attack. The reason for this is that a partially effective American anti-missile capability would be less effective against a massive surprise attack than against an anticipated and crippled reprisal. It is ineffective against a massive first attack not only because saturation of the defenses make it "virtually hopeless," but also because it is not possible to have defenses pitched to peak alertness of response year in and year out during peace time, as we well appreciate if we remember Pearl Harbor. That attack was clearly observed by radar well before it struck. By all technical criteria it should have been intercepted, but through human failure it was not. It is clear that the anti-missile missile, if it is ever effective, would be effective when the anti-missile crews of the attacker are on the alert against retaliatory missiles depleted in number by a first strike.

I conclude that if testing is allowed to continue and we resume atmospheric testing without a major new effort to obtain a test-ban agreement, it will be because we continue to try to maintain a commanding lead in nuclear weaponry a little longer, in spite of the inevitable trend toward virtual equality in destructive nuclear power.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Evelyn Waugh's Opus of Disgust

by Patrick O'Donovan

The three volume novel today seems as old fashioned as a passionate belief in marital fidelity. Many authors return to the same characters, the same town or even, like Lawrence Durrell, to the same basic situation. But Mr. Waugh, as determinedly, spit-in-your-eye, arrogantly unfashionable as ever, has done just this. His two linked

The End of the Battle
by Evelyn Waugh
(Little, Brown; \$4.50)

novels that preceded this one seemed, even to his admirers, curiously unsatisfactory, like preliminary studies for a greater work. But with *The End of the Battle*, the cornerstone has been set in place, the whole design makes sense, the edifice stands up and we are confronted with the whole and it is astonishing.

The three books comprise a portrait of the last Great War. It is not everyone's war; it is certainly not the American GI's. But as well as being a great artist, Mr. Waugh is also a great reporter. To an Englishman his war is at once disturbingly recognizable, even though perhaps he never quite saw it like this, then or now. This war was necessary, but futile. It corrupted almost all it touched. The nobility it evinced was limited, misdirected and usually unconscious. It ended in the spiritual defeat of the West.

The whole opus is a work of disgust. Mr. Waugh dispises what the West achieved and even more dispises the way in which we attempted to achieve it. The war began as a crusade, against the Moscow-Berlin alliance. It became doubtful when the Russians changed sides. It became utterly fouled as, one by one, we deserted our friends for the sake of victory. It ends with a triumph of a sort. The family of his protagonist (victim might be more accurate), disillusioned, saddened, passive and pri-

vate, retire to what is left of his patrimony. They fade in the quiet, decent country house. They obey the old rules. They reject the corruption of the times. They keep the Old Faith.

This, of course, is in the Catholic recusant tradition of English resistance, though few recusants even at the height of physical persecution would have gone so far in disloyalty to the times. It is all the stronger and clearer because it has been adopted by rather than bred into Mr. Waugh. At the end, and as at Brideshead, the sanctuary lamp still burns before the altar in the chapel at Broome and one cannot expect much more than that of a world like this. The last line is meant:

"Yes," said Box-Bender, not without a small, clear note of resentment, "things have turned out very conveniently for Guy."

This three-in-one novel concerns the military - spiritual Aeneid of Guy Crouchback. When the war comes, he lives alone, self-exiled in an Italian villa. He is a member of an old Catholic family and related to almost all the others of the same sort. He is divorced from his wife and the laws of the Church forbid re-marriage or adventure. The family estates have been sold and Broome let to a nunnery. His father, the head of the house, lives in a horrible sea-side hotel, a life of gentle sanctity and tolerance and even of a sort of happiness, but even this sort of happiness is denied to Guy, whose private life and whose vision of the world condemn him to, at the best, a gentle melancholy.

Guy sees the war as a crusade for the West and a clear call for him. He joins a proud, peculiar and unfashionable regiment - the Royal Corps of Halberdiers. He is brave and dedicated, but rather old. He is awkward with men outside his class, though the lower

classes present fewer problems than the intermediates.

Crouchback is dedicated and courageous. He fails in almost all he does and ludicrously. His is a continuous, mounting tragedy that for most of the time is stifled by unkind laughter. In *Men at Arms* he is a novice in the mad military monastery. He is surrounded by the puppy violence of English irresponsibility, he is enmeshed in the best lavatory joke in English literature and yet it remains a novitiate and full of promise. And it is almost as funny as *Decline and Fall*.

In *Officers and Gentlemen*, he is professed as a soldier. He meets the reality of war in our time. There is betrayal by gentlemen who should know better and by others who can be excused. The crusade turns into an illusion, into a job that must be done. By accident he comes to be regarded as a security risk on some obscure but powerful file and his acts of courage pass unnoticed in this madhouse of ambition and eccentricity and stupidity.

In *The End of the Battle*, total disillusion arrives and with it a sort of peace. His enchanting wife (who behaves like a stoat) is killed by a bomb and it is made, rather horribly, to seem like the hand of God stretched out in mercy. Crouchback ends with the partisans in Yugoslavia, the antithesis of all he believes, evil incarnate in fact, and his duties compel him to fail a party of Jewish refugees. A doomed Jewess speaks to him:

"Is there any place that is free from evil? It is too simple to say that only the Nazis wanted war. These Communists wanted it too. It was the only way in which they could come to power. Many of my people wanted it, to be revenged on the Germans, to hasten the creation of the national state. It seems to me there was a will to war, a death wish everywhere. Even good men thought their private honor would be satisfied by war. They could assert their manhood by killing and being killed. They would accept

hardships in recompense for having been selfish and lazy. Danger justified privilege. I knew Italians – not very many perhaps – who felt this. Were there none in England?"

"God forgive me," said Guy, "I was one of them."

This is despair of a redolence that Cyril Connolly once prophesied as the only possible quality in future intellectuals, though it is not of the kind he foresaw. It is easy enough to be offended by the ideology of the book. It is, perhaps, intended to be offensive and it is startlingly uncharitable. Writing without admiration of the lonely American soldiers in wartime London: "For their comfort there swarmed out of the slums and across the bridges multitudes of drab, ill-favored adolescent girls and their aunts and mothers, never before seen in the square of Mayfair and Belgravia. These they passionately and publicly embraced, in the blackout and at high noon, and rewarded with chewing gum, razor blades and other rare trade goods from the PX store."

Again, it is unlikely that a gentleman with Crouchback's connections would in England have been treated so dismally and so carelessly by the authorities. And a Catholic who thought as

Crouchback did would be in danger of incurring the onus of several rare and intellectual sins.

But Waugh has created his own world, and tethered it to reality and this world with that multitude of characters and incidents that was the glory of his ferociously funny early novels. All three books together comprise the one genuine masterpiece to come out of the war. No amount of distaste for the politics, the unkindness, the theology or the upper class squalor can get over that. Its style never falters. Its characters team as in the most crowded of English picaresque novels and do so, which is rare, in a disciplined manner.

Of course, Waugh is a red rag to many literate men. He makes his own rules, or reinterprets old ones that most have discarded. His method is traditional. He consciously flies in the face of fashion. His style is rich and classical. The language itself gives delight. Yet in the end, one's admiration is compelled. In my case, it never had the least need of forcing. He has created a vision of the last war as an epochal defeat of Christian civilization, as a tragedy on a more than human scale. And in this, of course, he comes alarmingly close to a possible truth.

complete. The thirteen come closest on the first where a majority concur in the proposition that the dollar problem is neither cyclical nor accidental but rather a reflection of important changes in the relationships among the major trading nations. But even here the eminent British economist Sir Roy Harrod maintains that the American problem is little more than an aspect of the free world's failure to raise gold price. In a related fashion, Robert Triffin eloquently argues that our balance of payments troubles would diminish if it were not for an international shortage of liquidity.

As for why affluent America should suffer from the poor nation's ailment of balance of payments embarrassment, the explanations are rich in variety. Inflation in the United States, American inflexibilities of styling and pricing, labor union monopoly, industrial oligopoly, German wage and interest policy, heavy American military and foreign aid expenditures, gold shortages, exchange difficulties, inappropriate tax policies, and improper currency valuations – these and others have their proponents and it is a rare economist who limits himself to one.

Nor are the solutions any less diverse than the diagnoses. Sir Roy Harrod prescribes a doubling of the price of gold which at a stroke would also double the value of American and English gold reserves. Triffin proposes to convert the International Monetary Fund into a true international bank, to which Oscar Altman, an influential official of the Fund, objects. Egon Sohmen, Professor of Economics at the University of the Saar, is the most doctrinaire. Dwelling complacently on the relation of free enterprise to the German "miracle," he blames American difficulties on labor union power and proposes that labor union "monopolies" be broken. In a much more moderate vein, many of the essayists stress the necessity of wage and price restraint, although the silence is embarrassing on the delicate matter of how that restraint is to be achieved without the use of wage and price controls. Several writers support elimination of foreign tax havens, tax advantages to American investors in Western Europe, and some categories of governmental spending abroad. None – it is worth noting – recommends cur-

Dollars and Sense

by Robert Lekachman

This untidily organized, unevenly written, and occasionally repetitious symposium is, despite these defects, an important guide to professional opinions of the causes and the cures of the dollar crisis. It is all the more interesting because it contains numerous clues to the reasoning of some of

The Dollar in Crisis
edited by Seymour E. Harris
(Harcourt, Brace & World; \$4.95)

the President's advisers. Harris himself has been a close consultant to the President and to Secretary of the Treasury Dillon. The President's February message on the Balance of Payments which is reprinted in this volume bears the impress of Mr. Harris' advice. J. K. Galbraith, close to President Kennedy

during the campaign and the interregnum, is now Ambassador to India. Three of the other contributors are also closely affiliated with Administration affairs. One, Richard Cooper, is on the staff of the Council of Economic Advisers. A second, Walter Lederer, is Chief of the Balance of Payments section of the Department of Commerce. And the third, Edward M. Bernstein, served on the President-elect's balance of payments task force.

What do these officials and their eight colleagues in this volume conclude? Broadly speaking, the contributors examine three major questions: what is the current position of the dollar; what has caused the American balance of payments problem; what is the best solution to this problem. On none of these questions is agreement

tailoring aid to developing nations.

It is difficult to generalize accurately about economists as diverse as these thirteen. One tendency seems fairly prominent: a renewed concern with American prices and wages and the relationship of these prices and wages to their European counterparts. This concern is closely allied to explanations of gold outflows from the United States which are based upon rising American prices. There are fashions in economics as in other things. The contemporary fashion attaches the same importance to the alleged intractability of the dollar surplus problem as past fashion attached to the intractability of the dollar gap. Today's fashion almost inevitably plays into the hands of economic conservatives. It is a convenient excuse for opposing social welfare programs on the ground that the necessary expenditures are inflationary. It is an equally serviceable pretext for policies of monetary restraint and high interest rates which penalize most severely small businessmen, consumers, state and local governments, and home buyers. And of course it can be made to justify a continuation of the Administration's inadequate attempts to stimulate economic growth.

A balance of payments problem does exist. But a vigorous, innovating economy has a better chance to surmount it than an economy which operates with the sluggishness which has been as marked in the first year of the Kennedy Administration as in the eight languid years of Eisenhower. Germany which has an unemployment rate of 1.5 percent because she is rapidly gaining gold and dollars. The United States which has an unemployment rate of over six percent is a problem because she is losing gold. It is hard to see how monetary discipline, or even tax credits promiscuously extended with an open hand to the inefficient as well as the efficient can stimulate businessmen to resume the innovation and the competition which once gave America her "permanent" lead over all rivals. In the long run, the quality of American technical education, the imagination of industrial design, and the activities of Assistant Attorney General Loevinger's anti-trust division will do more to revive American trade prospects than all the sober remedies of the sound men of finance.



she makes no protest

Kim Myung Sook, Korean, age 6. Has never had enough to eat. Father former school teacher. Fleed with wife from Communists in north. Child born in rubble of Pusan. Father opened iron shop. His life and shop lost in typhoon. Mother works in laundry. Earns three dollars per month. "Home" is one-room hut. Earthen floor. Mother cannot feed and clothe child. Looks with despair on her beautiful daughter. Needs everything. Help to Myung Sook means life and hope to mother and child.

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Rake with a Heart of Gold

by Lillian de la Torre

THE PRODIGAL RAKE
An 18th Century Comedy
in Many Scenes

CAST OF CHARACTERS

William Hickey, a Rake with a
Heart of Gold, Makes Good at
the Bar in India

His Father, Benevolent but Just,
Lives to See his Son Reclaimed
Charlotte, Hickey's Inamorata, a
Woman of the Town, but True
to her Lover

Bob Pott, his Friend, an Agreeable
Rattle

Emily, Bob's Mistress, and Any-
body's

Naughty Schoolboys, Mohawks &
Bucks, Kept Women, Bluff Sea Dogs
& Jolly Tars, Scheming Politicians,
Nabobs & Would-be Nabobs, Hin-
doos & Lascars, &c. &c. &c.

TIME: 1749-1783

PLACE: London, Madras, Canton,
Jamaica, Calcutta, the
High Seas, &c. &c.

William Hickey, reminiscing in his declining years, was not writing a play. His book, now abridged and re-published under the able editorship of Peter Quennell, is a conventional autobiography. But as he wrote, he might well have drawn up such a playbill, for the stage was certainly in his head.

The Prodigal Rake
Memoirs of William Hickey
Edited by Peter Quennell
(Dutton; \$6.50)

Grease paint strongly scents the discourses he put in the mouths of the people he knew. King, Shuter and Dibdin, prominent actors with whom the young rake was acquainted, could have spoken those lines with an easy sense of familiarity. Some of the nautical scenes could have been slipped undetected into *Roderick Random*.

This is not to say that these memoirs of the prodigal rake are fiction. We know that his account of many an episode has been verified by old letters long since discovered in archives halfway around the world, and the present editor finds that the log of the *Plassey*,

still extant, closely verifies Hickey's memories of his first passage to India. It is to say that the old man's memory, prodigious though it was, served up real events in literary style, making his father (as the editor points out) talk like a heavy parent in lachrymose comedy, and recording bloodless sentimental or comic duels, practical jokes, polished witticisms, and low humors, in a manner that would have suited the stage of his day.

Hickey's memory afforded him plenty of dramatic material to work on. The precocious young rascal had made his mark with wine, women, and "not very modest" song before he turned fourteen. As a sportsman he was "a famous stop behind wicket" and a mighty oarsman, although, in spite of repeated narrow escapes from drowning, he never learned to swim. As a lawyer's clerk, he dipped into his father's till to pay for his debauches.

Certain passages stand out. Most memorable are sketches of strange ports, and episodes of tempest and shipwreck on the Seven Seas. Equally striking are early escapades in London. Young Hickey went to see the Coronation of King George III in Westminster Abbey, where, the prosy Archbishop having risen to mumble out his sermon, by common consent the spectators attacked their lunches with such a clatter of cutlery that they all burst into impolite laughter. In mask and domino the fashionable young fellow went to the King of Denmark's masquerade, and had "the superlative honour of being jostled by a crowned head." He attended the Wilkes riots as if going to the play. He frequented low dives, where he was plundered by sharpers and trulls. He also peeked through Mrs. King's keyhole after she was murdered and burned up by her lodger Gardelle, and he was among those present when Earl Ferrers was hanged, wearing his white-and-silver wedding clothes because, said the Earl, "they had been his first step towards ruin, and should attend his exit"; but these two criminous episodes the present editor has seen fit to omit.

On the whole, this new edition is well

and wisely edited by Peter Quennell. The first recension, in four volumes (1913-1925), omitted very little from the 742-page manuscript Hickey wrote in 1809. The then editor, Albert Spencer, thought proper to bowdlerize or excise some of Hickey's best passages, because they were bawdy; but he allowed him to prose on interminably. In this new edition, racy bits have been restored, and with Charlotte's early death in 1783 a natural and timely stopping-place has been found.

The editor's own contribution has been held to a regrettable minimum. In a brief 18 pages of foreword, with admirable economy and felicity of style, he introduces the characters and sets the scene. As his previous *Hogarth's Progress* shows, Quennell is amply equipped to display the 18th Century world at large with wide learning and affectionate irony. I, for one, would gladly have sacrificed news of many another drinking-bout of Hickey's in order to save space for more of Quennell's own illuminating observations. With them, this volume would stand on almost equal terms with the Yale edition of Boswell's *London Journal*, with which it inevitably challenges comparison.

William Hickey and James Boswell set up for rakes in the same mid-century London. They took the same impersonal interest in their early amorous exploits, which they recorded with the same detailed realism. They were both snobs. They both settled down to the Law. They both recorded their doings with the same detached frankness, the same close observation, and the same ear for dialogue.

The Memoirs of Hickey, nevertheless, fall short of Boswell's record in two dimensions. Hickey, blandly self-pleased, lacks the fascinating complexity of Boswell's tormented soul. Nor did he have the aspiration that drove Boswell to turn repeatedly from the world of the snob to seek out men of the first intellectual and spiritual distinction. While Hickey was drinking himself besotted with another new set of dull boon companions, Boswell was listening with excited mental curiosity to Johnson, to Rousseau, to Voltaire. Such men gave more meaning to Boswell's life, and to his writings, than the Prodigal Rake ever attained to.

JULES FEIFFER

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IN SUBURBAN CIVIL DEFENSE OUR MOTTO IS: IF YOU CAN'T GET YOURSELF A RUSSIAN, SETTLE FOR AN AMERICAN.

10-8

MOVIES

The Unadaptable Adapted

There are two kinds of adapters for the screen: those who look for novels and plays that will make good films, and those who look for well-known novels and plays out of which films can somehow be made. The former care little for the success of the original and can make a good film out of *Room at the*

Tender Is the Night (20th Century-Fox)
View from the Bridge (Continental)

Top or *The Hustler*. The latter, like the mountaineer and Everest, insist on filming a well-known work "because it is there." Two new films are in the latter class.

One would think that an experienced film-maker would only have to read *Tender Is the Night* to know that it is impossible to transpose to the screen. Its oblique approaches to its story, the gradualness of the hero's deterioration, its reliance on its very prose, all add up to a classic example of a work unadaptable to a dramatic medium because its motion cannot be externalized. It cannot be done or spoken or shown; it can only be read.

The present film is not even an honest

failure, it is a vulgarization. Numerous elements of the book have been rearranged and thinned to the point at which they become stock ingredients in a domestic-drama recipe (the point at which *Macbeth* becomes a mere crime story); and the result has been equipped with an inappropriate cast, a pedestrian director, and a theme song. The script does not, of course, specify the cause of Nicole's derangement; it makes Rosemary a caricature movie-star instead of a paradoxically child-hearted sex-myth incarnate; it makes Dick's disintegration a pat and predictable toboggan-ride. Of Abe North it makes a song-writer who drinks because he cannot find an ending for the title-song — which he wrote!

There is in the film no touch of the heat in Fitzgerald's private hell that impelled him to project this disguised image of it, and there is no perception of the large currents on which the story is carried: the post-World War I *tristesse* of a culture mortally wounded without another one having been born to replace it. This wound not only shivered the ancient nations of Europe but made Americans realize that, in

the context of the West as it had been, there was probably not enough time left for this country to become a nation. In James' day Americans went to Europe for a taste of what this country had not yet achieved; in Fitzgerald's day they went to taste what this country may never achieve and what was beginning to dissolve over there: the treasury and continuum of a certain political-cultural history.

Jennifer Jones (it is said) has long wanted to play Nicole. She may once have been the right age; she could never have had the quicksilver, the ravening pathos of the girl who survives by drowning the man who helps her. Jason Robards, Jr., in his second attempt to portray a fictional Fitzgerald (on Broadway he played the leading role in *The Disenchanted*) is again miscast; he has none of the romantic aura of anachronistic 19th Century idealism that the part needs. He would have been better as the rough-grained North — played by Tom Ewell who provides cliché content for a cliché part. Jill St. John fits perfectly the distorted version of Rosemary. Only Joan Fontaine, as Baby, is authentic. She conveys something of the haughty well-groomed American golden girl, glimpsed in Pullmans and hotel lobbies, who is the Fitzgerald dream and devil.

And they *had* to make a film of Arthur Miller's *View from the Bridge*. "Like the play," said the script's original stage directions, "the set is stripped of everything but its essential elements." Not the film. Even in its unhappily expanded second version, the play almost compensates in conciseness for what it lacks in depth. Its shape is not inevitable, it touches none of the larger Greek resonances at which it aims. (Who feels there is any of Eddie in him as we feel Oedipus and Medea?) Still its very spareness has some effect.

One can imagine a ballet made from this play, but nothing outside a proscenium frame and the theater's general eye. The camera comes too close, asks and suggests too much explanation, and — given an abstraction done with naturalist symbols — forgets the former and dilates on the naturalism. Norman Rosten, the adapter, claims to have widened the play's horizons. This wid-

Goodbye

The harbor hardly said goodbye,
but one outstanding figure there
knew me and with a ready stare
watched that the ship sailed out, and I.

The others, waving from the pier,
saw till they could no longer see
their many friends depart, and me,
there was so much to disappear.

Then they walked back to other lives,
remembering from time to time
the ship's descent and ocean's climb,
between their husbands and their wives.

And she of course resumed her part,
but briefly set aside for me
only to see me to the sea
and let perspective scratch the heart.

KNUTE SKINNER

ening – of horizons! – consists of dragging us through scenes on the dock, in the street, in the Automat, and elsewhere, all to document the life that was merely and amply suggested in the play. The film is much longer than the play, and because its plot was not designed for this diffuse shape, it becomes repetitious and boring.

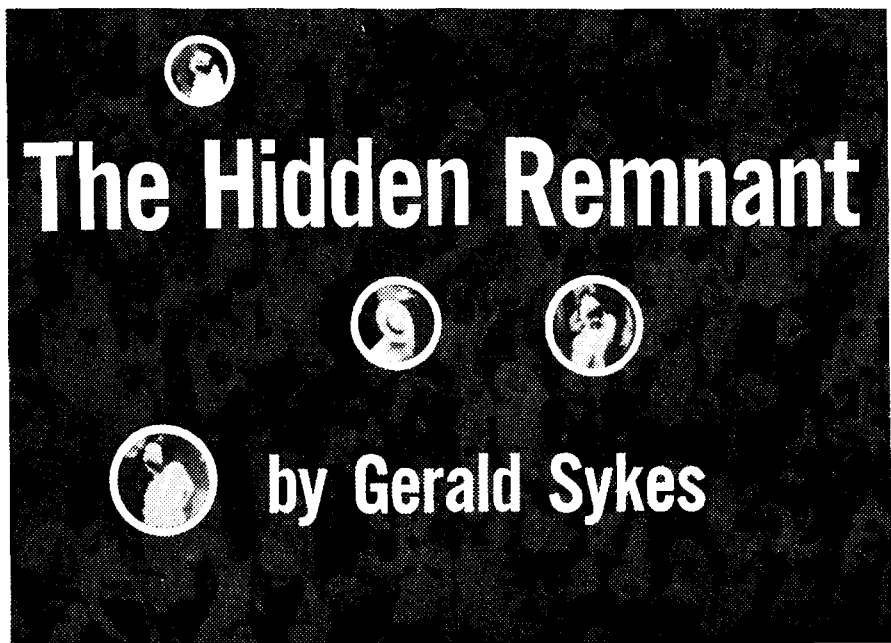
This in spite of some good acting. Raf Vallone and Jean Sorel speak English equally badly although one is supposed to be a long-time Brooklyn resident and one a new arrival; but both are substantial and interesting as Eddie and Rodolpho. Carol Lawrence is charming as Kathie, and Maureen Stapleton brings her occasionally ostentatious honesty to Beatrice.

Sidney Lumet, author of such directorial botches as *Stage-struck* and *The Fugitive Kind*, oppresses this film, too, with his eclectic cleverness, grabbing for effects as he goes, bankrupt of style or originality of mind. He puts the seal on this at the end by pulling the camera slowly up and back in that final movement which is by now as "artistic" as a fade-out of William S. Hart kissing his horse.

Note on a different sort of adaptation: On January 2, the House Un-American Activities Committee issued a further defense of its film, *Operation Abolition*, admitting only one mistake, since corrected, about Harry Bridges. The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California has now issued a version of the film called *Operation Correction*, applying sub-titles to show how time sequences were continually juggled, inserting revisions in the sound-track to reveal deliberate distortion. The ACLU film proves that the men originally responsible for this film and still defensive of it are liars. Is there no Congressional equivalent of Senator Flanders to move for a vote of censure? STANLEY KAUFFMANN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Patrick O'Donovan is a foreign correspondent for The Observer. Lillian de la Torre is the author of *Elizabeth Is Missing* and other books about the 18th Century. Knute Skinner is on the English faculty of the Oklahoma College for Women.



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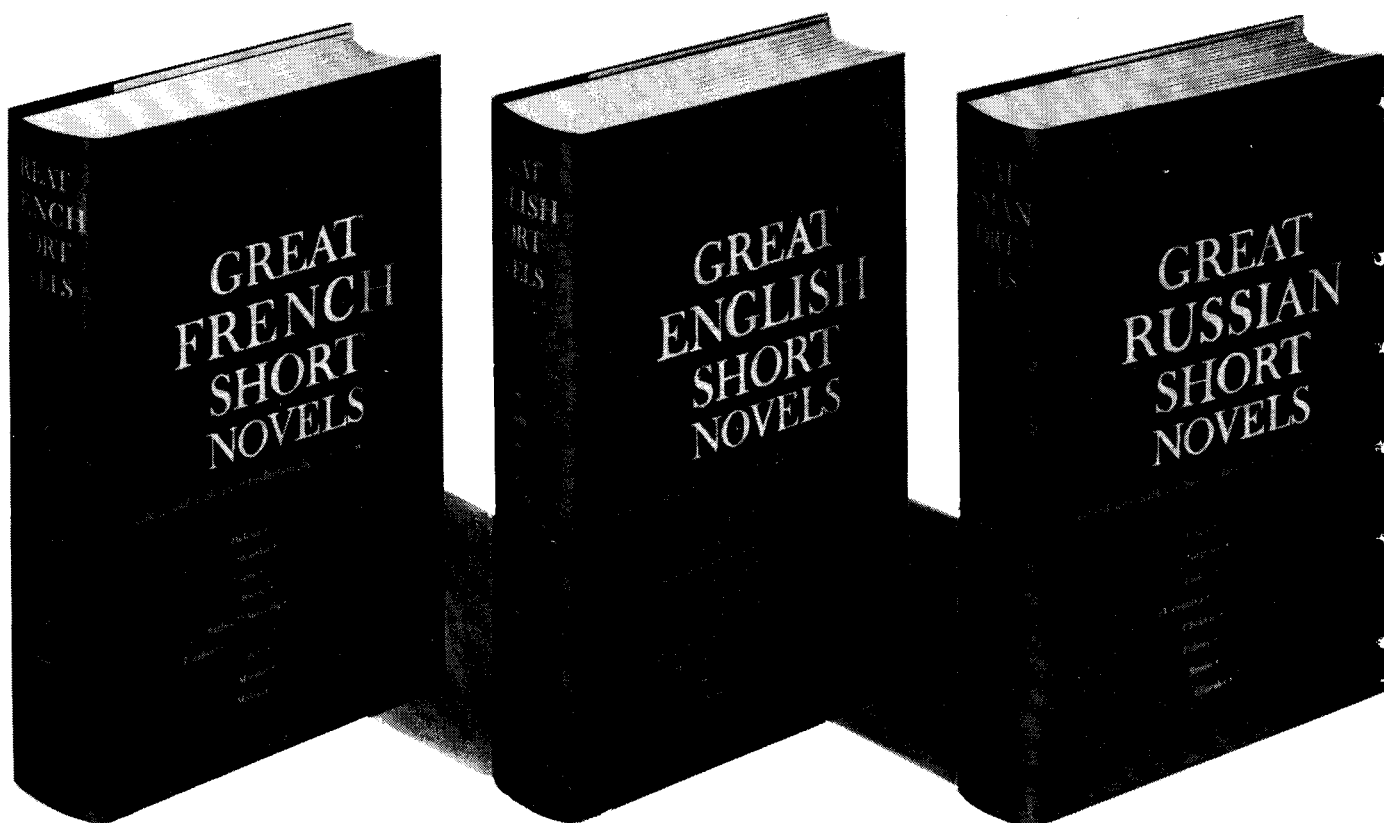
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The Whitney: What's New?

Harold Rosenberg, one of the few rhetors of the old new American painting with an understanding of English grammar, used it one time to explain why Jack Levine was no proper artist. The painting under discussion was Levine's *Gangster's Funeral* in the Whitney collection. The main point of Mr. Rosenberg's objection was that he already knew there were gangsters before he saw Levine's painting. As I recall the chain of reasoning, the conclusion was that the old new American painters, unlike Levine, were proper artists because they all showed Mr. Rosenberg things he hadn't known existed, such as huge swirls, vast expanses of yellow over vast expanses of red, and blue broken by a single stripe.

It seemed to me at the time that this pretty well eliminated most of the painters represented in the permanent collections of most museums; after all, I knew about Christianity, the male nude, the female nude, landscapes, the rich British and lilacs without instruction from Giotto, Michelangelo, Titian, Poussin, Reynolds and Monet, respectively. On the other hand, like Mr. Rosenberg, I had not known about paint thickly dripped until Pollock or about paint thinly spread unto eternity until Rothko. It occurred to me that possibly Levine and all those predecessors of his had to be eliminated before I could see the new painting at all.

As things worked out, they were eliminated and shortly we saw nothing but the new painting. In Mr. Rosenberg's incisive phrase, there grew up "the tradition of the new." No one asked of an exhibition "What's beautiful?" or even "What's ugly?" The rhetors and their disciples, when they weren't asking "What's good?" in the brokerage office sense, were asking each other only, "What's new?" Painters, too, quick to catch on to rhetorical questions, asked of their muse only, "What's new?"

This approach had a built-in cut-off point for the legions of new new painters who set up shop each June. In spite of all the rhetoric about ruling

out the rules, the law of combinations and permutations never got repealed. Thomas Watson, Jr., in the secret heart of IBM, could have charted it: you feed all the possible ways with paint into the in-put and the out-put will handily tote up the complete list of variations in the product. The variations turned out to be considerably fewer than all but the most calculating of machines would have thought. This led to the conclusion that, as in California and the Klondike, the lucky ones were those who got there first.

But even for those lucky ones, the old new painters, there turns out to be a cut-off point. This revelation came to me in this year's Whitney Annual.

The annual is usually a balanced mixture of new work by well-known artists and work by artists more or less unknown to the general public. So it was this year. There were both new new painters and old new painters, and there was quite a crowd of just plain painters. Perhaps it was the presence of these latter that revealed the cut-off point for the ones who got there first, patented a personal disposition of paint and for years now have been clipping the coupons.

The point was it wasn't new anymore and hadn't been for a long time. And when the new painting loses its newness it has lost all.

Example: the first time any of us saw Franz Kline's tall white paintings streaked with huge black strokes that might be girders or the shadows of girders, we were impressed. But essentially the same Kline painting is in the Whitney, called now *Probst I*, and all you can say is, "So what's new?"

Example again: Adolf Gottlieb's *Soft Blue*, *Soft Black* is another arrangement of one big, circular smudge hovering over another, the lower more like a gear, the upper more like a sun. He's been doing it for years.

Chi-chi efforts at variations are even worse. Sam Francis's *Untitled*, with a border of the old smears and an open center criss-crossed by rabbit tracks in

snow just looks like an unfinished Sam Francis. Helen Frankenthaler's lackadaisical *Over the Circle*, lazily spilled paint over a lazily drawn circle, evokes only, "So what?"

It even happens to the Katzenjammer Kids, Mr. Johns and Mr. Rauschenberg. The latter's *Third Time Painting* does not refer in its title to the artists' manifest lack of fruitful experience, but to an actual Bulova clock he's got stuck in the middle of smeared paint and assorted flat substances. The clock says 8:15, which I take to mean he doesn't know what time it is. It is much later than he thinks. Mr. Johns, who has previously recorded his patriotism in paintings of the flag and his marksmanship in paintings of targets, here gives us *Painting With Two Balls*. There are three horizontal panels covered with smear and old papers; the top two panels are bowed apart to accommodate the little spheres.

Thus the new painting has painted itself into a new corner. The young tads can only strain for variation within the narrow limits imposed by IBM. The old masters, once they've patented a process, can only keep repeating it—like Gilbert Stuart with George Washington—because if they lay it aside, someone will swipe it. "Happenings" have been proposed as one way out of the corner, but these are basically just a less civilized abandonment of painting than Marcel Duchamps' logical turning to chess decades ago. Another way is to retrace our steps bravely through the rather tacky paint and get back to where we were before Mr. Rosenberg realized he already knew about gangsters.

You can find that point at the Whitney. In fact it's all over the building, beginning in the display window on the street, where Karl Knaths celebrates the happy relations between bright sun on the dunes and bright yellow paint structured by the barest minimum of edge lines. Naturally, we all knew about dunes anyway, but we didn't know about these dunes and from these we learn something about other dunes, something about art, and, if we pay close attention, something about ourselves.

That point dominates the big entrance hall, which is peopled by great big new paintings but is ruled by Peter Blume's major work of old-

style hallucinatory realism, *Tasso's Oak*. You find, as you go through the show, that the only reasonable answer to "What's new?" is given by the older painters, those who are still painting for vision, for representation, for organization, for almost anything except the wish to be new.

Rattner has a magnificent, shattered stained glass *Pietà* that compares with the last sculptures on that theme by Michelangelo. Raphael Soyer has a standing nude; he's been doing them for years, but we see freshly the tired flesh, the dull face, the patient, loving application of paint. It's new. The same goes for a *Woman Undressing* by Isabel Bishop and a Northern Lights swampland by Charles Burchfield.

Even Levine. No doubt Mr. Rosenberg knows about Spain, but Levine's *Spanish Prison* is much more than a healthy reminder. The prisoner, in the wan light, is heavily gagged; the guard's lower face is lighted and free, his eyes in deep shadow from his comic opera hat. Contrasts continue, but the strongest are those of paint: the scraped texture of the prisoner's forehead and neck as against the floating color spots of Fascist uniform. It's new.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

An Academic Firing

Sirs:

Recently (January 8, 1962) you printed a communication written by one of our former teachers, C. B. Dow, entitled "Guerrilla War in Classroom." I feel his letter was well written, but somewhat over exaggerated.

He stated that he is "faced with a great deal of pressure to eliminate the magazine" (*The New Republic*). This teacher was never faced with any pressure to eliminate the magazine. He was merely asked to provide similar material on specific issues from other publications. He was asked to allow students, whose parents objected to their reading only one side of the story, to have a freedom of choice. This he agreed to do, but did not follow through with it. He also agreed not to hold students responsible for materials which their parents would not permit

them to read. This he also failed to comply with. As a result, over half of his class received failing marks.

I spoke to him (as any concerned administrator would to any teacher who seemed to be headed for serious trouble in his classroom), in an effort to help him work out the obvious problem he was creating. Several parents had complained to me about his class, not because he was using *The New Republic*, but because he was only presenting one side of the picture. (Some of these were parents who are regular subscribers to your publication, and have been for many years.)

After our discussion, he wrote the

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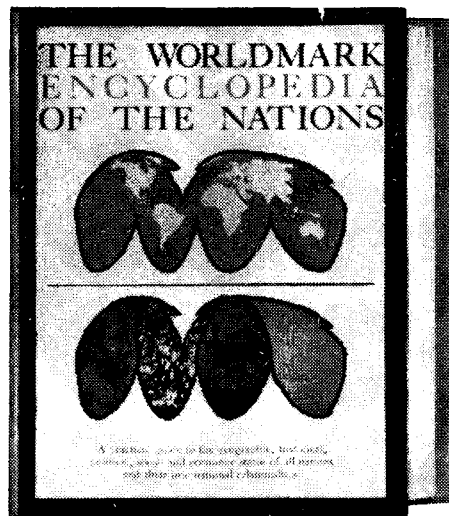
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letter you published January 8. He misconstrued what was intended as a possible solution to his classroom problem as a threat to "freedom and dignity of teachers as men and men as teachers."

Later, when he was confronted with not following through with the suggestions he had agreed to, he threatened to write a follow-up letter (NR, February 5) in an effort to gain the attention of one of your readers who might offer him a position.

In his letter he all but named the father of one of our students. This caused much ridicule and embarrassment to this particular young man, who was merely an innocent by-stander.

He stated, "I believe the Commander and his friends will keep hounding the administration until *The New Republic* is gone from the classroom." He further stated that, "when that happens, I will be gone, too."

The administration has not been hounded by anyone. We have received only one letter from the Commander in which he stated, "I have just finished reading Mr. Dow's letter in the 8 Jan. 1962 issue of *The New Republic*. I did not know whether to be amused or angry. I was shocked, however, to find that what I had assumed to be a rather pleasant conversation had been turned into one of the most vicious 'letters' I have ever read." He continued, "The point most distressing to me is the charge that I contacted 'several' other parents. I am prepared to say under oath that I have not talked to one parent of any student about *The New Republic*, or in fact any other subject whatever, by 'phone or in person. . . ."

Mr. Dow concluded his letter with, "it's a very lonely battle indeed." He doesn't know what fighting a lonely battle is until he has been an administrator faced with straightening out a mess made by a teacher who thinks he is the only person in the world who is engaged in "winning the peace."

Our school intends to keep copies of *The New Republic* and many other magazines available for our students to read, regardless of pressure from either side. We do not object to the use of these magazines as teaching materials, we object only to the misuse of them.

V. E. Simpson
Northridge, California